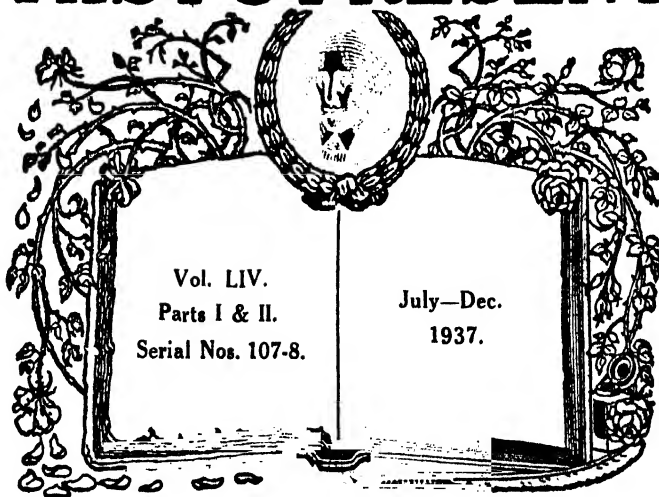


BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

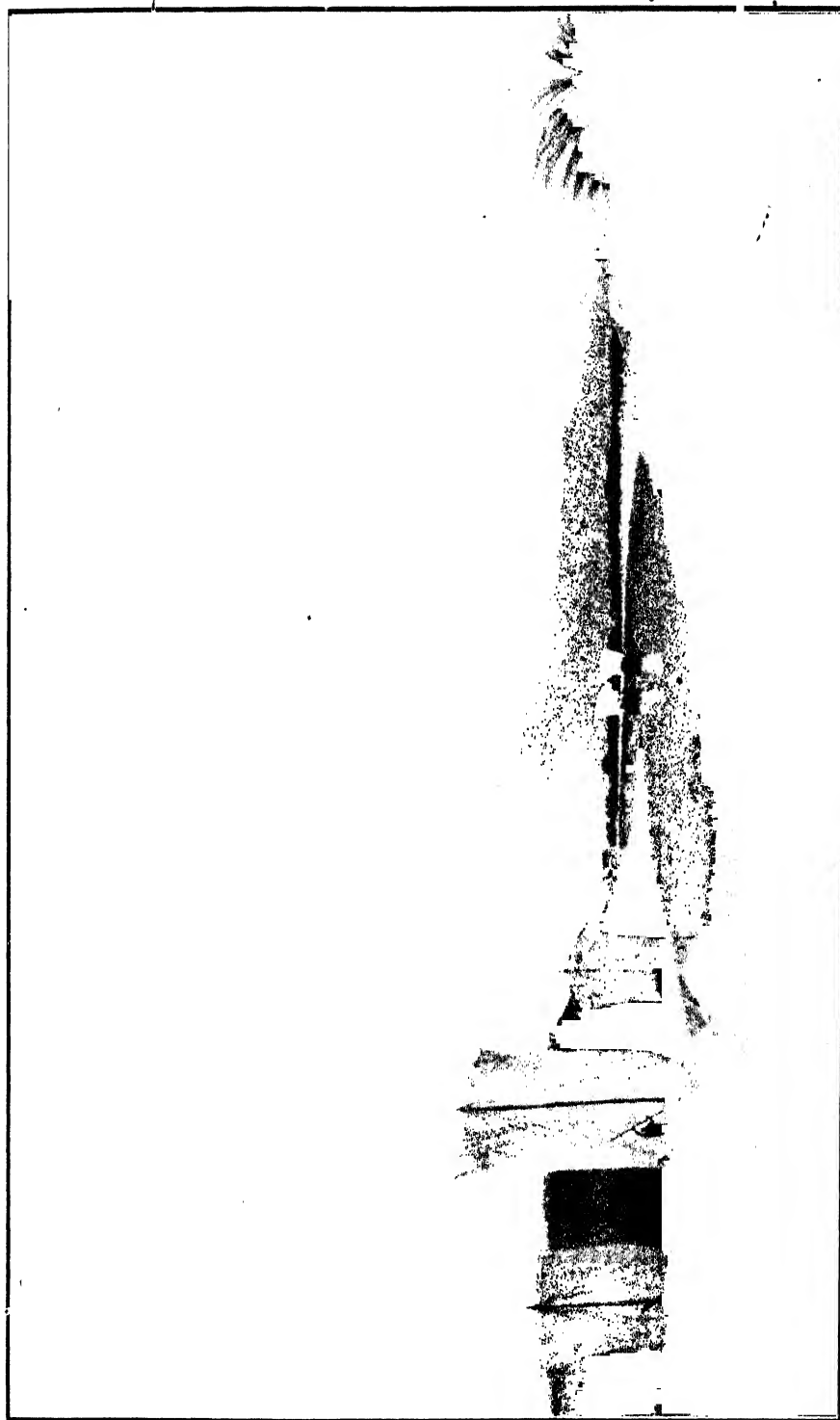
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VIEW OF THE MOUNTAIN OF TEWAR IN THE JUNGLE FERRY IN BENGAL.
Painted by Wm. Hodges, R.A. Exhibited at the R.A., London 1787. No 92
By kind permission of the Maharaja Tagore.



"PURANA KILAH" OR "INDRA PRANSTHA" and "BURRA PUL" OR "BARA PUL" (Bridge) with HULIYEN'S TOMB in the distance
Ascribed to William Hodges, R.A.
By kind permission of the Maharaja Talwar

The Mission of James Browne to the Delhi Court, 1783-1785.

THE death of Mirza Najaf Khan, the last great regent of Delhi, on 6th April, 1782, threw the Government of the Mughal Empire into confusion and civil war. Appeals were made to Warren Hastings by the Emperor Shah Alam II and his different ministers for British assistance and protection. In response to these, the Governor-General decided on sending an exploratory mission to Delhi. On 20th August he appointed Major James Browne as his Agent and the Minister of his Government at the Court of Delhi. The instructions given to the envoy on this date strictly limited his activities: he was directed to go to Lucknow, interview the Nawab-Wazir and take his advice as to the line of action to be followed, and then quickly proceed to Farrukhabad on the frontier and there wait for the Emperor's reply to the Governor-General's letter asking permission for his envoy to go to the Presence.

The object of Hastings is quite clearly set forth in his letter of instructions written on the above date: "Hitherto we know nothing of the political state of the Court, but from foreign and suspected channels. Your first care must be to collect the materials of a more complete and authentic knowledge. You must study the character, connection, influence, and power of the several competitors for the possession of the King's favour, or the exercise of his authority, the state, views and relations of the independent Chiefs and States whose territories border on his." Browne was told to endeavour by all means to inform himself of the designs and proceedings of all foreign agents residing at that Court, especially of the Vakil of Haider Ali. In case the Emperor desired a British force to be sent to his aid, the envoy was to make such assistance conditional upon the dismissal of the corps of Latafat Ali Khan and some of those commanded by the European refugees, the son of Sumroo, etc.

The envoy was instructed to declare to the Emperor on behalf of the Governor-General, "My sole objects are to manifest to the world at this particular time the attachment of the Company and of the English nation to promote his interests, and to know in what manner they may effect it." On getting the Emperor's reply on this single point, Browne was to ask for his dismission; but if the Emperor himself desired the envoy's continuance with him, the British Indian Government might change Browne's appointment to that of a fixed Resident. (*Forrest Selections*, Calcutta, iii. 1025).

Leaving Calcutta at the end of August, Browne made his way to Lucknow and sent his letter to the Emperor asking for permission to proceed to the Court.

At Lucknow, on the recommendation of William Palmer, he engaged as his *munshi* and *Wakil*, Salah-ud-din, the brother of Faqir Khair-ud-din Allahābadi. This Khair-ud-din was the *munshi* of the Anderson brothers, Residents with Sindia, and an eminent historian of that period. Salah-ud-din who had previously served at the Delhi Court and had great influence over the nobles there, was expected to smooth matters for the British envoy.

If Browne's mission was intended to be anything more than a complimentary visit and to effect a protective alliance between the E. I. Co. and the Emperor, it was foredoomed to failure, because he was instructed to refuse positively the payment of the Bengal tribute of 26 lakhs which Lord Clive had guaranteed to the Emperor by the Treaty of 1765 and which W. Hastings had left unpaid for eleven years now, and the restoration of the districts of Kora-Kara and Allahabad which the British had assigned to the Emperor by Treaty and then taken away. We also know from the Maratha envoy Hingane's despatches to Poona and the Persian records of the Delhi Court that the Emperor and his ministers were mortally afraid of British influence on their Government, as they abhorred the idea of his being turned into a British puppet like the then Nawab of Oudh. The Peshwa was constantly writing to the Emperor and to Mahadji Sindia to prevent such English intervention at Delhi at all costs, because "if the English once plant their feet there, no power would be left independent in India."

By the time Browne's letter reached Delhi, Mirza Muhammad Shafi had crushed his rivals and made himself Mir Bakhshi (Amir-ul-umara) and regent of the Empire. He made the Emperor write a reply to Browne asking him to go back to Calcutta, as the late disturbances at the capital had now entirely subsided and there was no longer any need for English help. Browne at Farrukhabad was mortified to receive such a rebuff, but Salah-ud-din undertook to go alone to Delhi and get this order rescinded. Leaving Farrukhabad on 15th December, 1782, the *munshi* reached Delhi on the 27th and secured through the ministers there an imperial letter asking Browne to visit the Mir Bakhshi Shafi (then at Agra) first and act according to his advice. Salah-ud-din himself at the invitation of Shafi went to Agra (12th February, 1783) to prepare the ground for Browne's visit to Shafi. The Major himself arrived there and had his first meeting with Shafi on the 26th of that month. He remained in the Imperial General's camp till November next, when after the murder of Shafi and the succession of Afrasiyab Khan to the post of Amir-ul-umara, he overrode the delaying tactics of Afrasiyab, and came to Delhi alone, putting up in Safdar Jang's tomb (11th December), and then fell ill for a month.

On 5th February, 1784, he was at last received in audience by the Emperor and delivered the letter and presents sent by Warren Hastings for the throne. Here he stayed, trying to build up an English party hostile to the Marathas among the nobles. The royal heir Prince Jawan Bakht (Jahandar Shah) fled away from Delhi palace one stormy night (14th April) and went to Lucknow, where the Governor General was then on a visit. The Emperor, in alarm, sent Browne to Lucknow to induce Hastings to send the Prince back and to renew the Bengal tribute. He arrived there on

28th May, and left it a month later for Agra (arrival 14th July). Meantime another revolution had taken place at the Delhi Court: Abdul Ahad Khan (Majd-ud-daulah Bahram Jang), the old favourite of the Emperor and the staunchest ally of the English, had been deposed and imprisoned by Afrasiyab Khan, who now took the Emperor with himself to Agra (arrival c. 5th August). Thereafter Browne continued in Agra, till the murder of Afrasiyab Khan (2nd November), and then moved in the Emperor's train to Mahadji Sindhia's camp and with that camp to Dig, Agra and Mathura, taking his congee at the last-named place on 19th April, 1785.

The news of the death of Afrasiyab reached Agra, where the Emperor and Browne were staying, the morning after the event. Browne lost no time in setting his anti-Maratha plans in train. Through his *munshi* Salah-ud-din he pressed the Emperor—who needed no pressing in this matter,—to recall his old favourite Abdul Ahad Khan from his prison in Aligarh, in order to make him regent again and thus baulk the ambition of Mahadji Sindhia. He is even said to have promised British aid for the protection of the Emperor against the Marathas. The attempt failed; the Emperor went over to Mahadji's camp (16th Nov.) with Browne in his train, and on the 4th December following appointed Sindhia as his regent and commander-in-chief. Browne tried hard to build up a coalition of the disappointed Muslim officials and nobles and the crafty Kashmiri agents of the late Amir-ul-umara, in order to thwart Mahadji; but it was all in vain, because Warren Hastings had already decided to abandon his old plan of establishing a British protectorate over the Delhi Government through some subservient Muslim minister (as was the case at Lucknow); he saw that Mahadji Sindhia was the coming man and that the English Company would gain more by continuing their friendly relations with him than by antagonising him out of jealousy. He therefore, publicly adopted the policy of dealing with the Mughal Court through this Maratha chief and utilising his personal friendship with Hastings rather than directly through a British Resident posted at Delhi. As the Governor-General wrote to his Council on 22nd April, 1784:—"There was a time when it was my opinion that it would be for the credit and interest of the English Government to exert their endeavours to relieve the Shah (Alam) from the thralldom of his ministers and to establish his authority at least in his own domains. The conjunction was then (*viz.*, about August, 1782) favourable Affairs are now much changed,"—as the imperial domains had been too much convulsed and devastated to yield any surplus revenue for maintaining an English subsidiary force. (Forrest, Calcutta, iii. 1089-'90).

A subsequent minute, written on 1st December, 1784, makes his new foreign policy quite unmistakable:—"Sindhia's general character and apparent interests are more likely to incline him to a strict maintenance of his integrity to our Government I feel little apprehension from the designs of Mahadji Sindhia and securely rely on his possessions (? professions). Indeed, I have never known any good to proceed from that timid policy which gives trust and withholds confidence." (*Ibid.*, 1129-'30.)

But while such was the deliberate policy of his master, Browne, throughout the year 1784 and even after, restlessly intrigued in an opposite direction.

He was bitterly hostile to Mahadji Sindhia and reported to the Governor General every rumour or calumny that might discredit him. He found himself entirely superseded at Delhi and his mission made an utter futility. It is clear from the original instructions given by Warren Hastings that the Governor General contemplated a very speedy conclusion of Browne's mission, (1)—in a month or two,—unless the Emperor should insist on having a permanent British Resident at his Court and the Calcutta Council should sanction the appointment. But no such post was created, and yet Browne lingered at the imperial Court for fourteen months after his first interview with the Emperor (from 5th Feb., 1784 to 19th April, 1785) at a very heavy and quite useless cost to the Bengal revenue. He clung to his post and its lordly allowances, and tried to assert an equality with Anderson, the British Resident in Sindhia's Court, at all public functions (as Khairuddin illustrates minutely). It was only after John Macpherson had become Governor-General and enforced the Directors' orders to cut down Warren Hastings's prodigal expenditure in the uncalled-for duplication of envoys at Lucknow and Delhi, that Browne was made to return to Calcutta,—and that too after receiving two successive letters of recall from Macpherson.

James Browne's last diplomatic stroke was an attempt to damn Mahadji Sindhia in the eyes of the English and cause a rupture between the two Powers which would probably end in a renewal of war and the expulsion of Mahadji from the control of Delhi. His persistent rivalry with James Anderson and spirit of working at cross-purposes, or at least in jealous secretiveness, towards this other Resident, instead of heartily cooperating with him,—introduced a harmful element of discord into British diplomacy at Delhi, now that Mahadji Sindhia had become the Emperor's official keeper. The cross-currents of this intrigue and rivalry are fully revealed in the memoirs of Anderson's *munshi* Khair-ud-din, to whom we are indebted for the following account ; and the account is mainly corroborated by the Marathi records :—

"On 18th March, 1785, Major Browne submitted to the Emperor the new Governor-General's letter recalling him. The Nau-roz was celebrated on the 19th. Shah Nizamuddin induced Browne to send to the Governor-General, enclosed in his own letter, a letter from the Emperor to Macpherson demanding the tribute of Bengal (2) including the arrears (for over 12 years) ; also a letter from Sindhia (as chief minister) to the same effect ; Browne kept the matter a secret from Anderson, even when the latter visited him after hearing of these letters from his spy . . . A second order came from the Governor-General urging Browne to return. He took his *congee* of the

(1) "Your Commission is professedly limited to a single point, and of course to the time required for effecting it, and that being effected you will demand your dismissal." (Hastings, 20 Aug., 1782. Forrest, iii. 1028).

(2) Hastings had instructed Browne to give the Emperor a clear negative if he repudiated the demand for the Bengal tribute : "The discussion of these pretensions must be unpleasant, and should therefore if possible be avoided. If you find it unavoidable, the following are the grounds on which to justify the refusal of both. . . . To pay the tribute would be impossible, nor without the commands of the Company have we the power to allow it." (Forrest iii. 1027).

Emperor on 19th April, 1785, when Mahadji attended by order. The Emperor spoke to Browne to urge Governor Macpherson to send the Bengal tribute, about which he had written again and again to Governor Hastings, and to remedy the default, 'as therein lay the good and profit of the English.' Thereafter Shah Nizam-ud-din turned the (secret) audience into a public darbar, so that among Major Browne's followers Mr. Hannay(?) Mr. Bird, Salah-ud-din Muhammad Khan and Mirza Hidayatullah, among Sindhia's followers Rana Khan Bhai, Mirza Rahim Beg, Rao Ambaji, Deshmukh, (Aba) Chitnis and Anand Rao Narsi, and among the Emperor's servants Shah Nizamuddin and some eunuchs were present.

The Emperor said to Browne: 'When Mirza Jawan Bakht went away to Lucknow, I sent you there for bringing him back and settling the question of the Bengal tribute. Though Mr. Hastings and Asaf-ud-daulah were present there, nothing was done, and the trouble of the long journey to Lucknow and back was (needlessly) borne by you. Verily the Wazir ignores the fact that there is a Padishah. Such is the Wazir's character that in spite of his being turned of forty, he spends his days and nights in cock-fights and pigeon-flying, roving through the bazars and buying things in the Chowk.' At each of these remarks, Mahadji expressed surprise and smiled, and by his questions about the contemptible conduct of the Wazir made the Emperor reiterate them. Then Sindhia remarked, 'Probably Mirza Jawan Bakht has adopted a silimar life', and the Emperor replied, 'What doubt about it? He too is absorbed in such childish play so that he does not think about me. It is the Wazir's duty to come to my Presence with his troops and the Prince and in concert with the sardars of my army regulate the realm and thereby win the satisfaction of his lord and master.'

Then Maharajah Sindhia, addressed Major Browne, 'In the affair of the Shahzada the Governor-General (Hastings) had repeatedly written to me to secure the Emperor's pardon for his offences and to call him to my side, and his letters to this effect are with me. In compliance with his request I have induced the Emperor to pardon his son and favour him. But the Governor-General has not yet sent him back. I know not what he is planning in his mind. His Majesty has again and again expressed his anger and censured me for this (contumacy). I, out of my friendship with the English, have patiently borne his anger and never spoken a word in complaint of this delay. Then, again, there is the Bengal tribute withheld by the English for many years past. You must tell Governor Macpherson to think of future consequences and send this money without delay. On this point the Emperor has repeatedly issued orders to me, but out of my love for the English I have neglected to carry out his orders. Let it not happen that at last one day the thing may come out of my heart to my tongue and become the cause of a rupture and injury to both sides. I am now speaking thus not by command of His Majesty, but on my own behalf, as I wish to continue my friendly relations with the English. Rana Khan Bhai, without realising the impropriety of this speech, broke in with 'As there is friendship between the Maharajah and the English Governor, he is informing the Governor-General by order of the Emperor.' The Emperor added, "Madho Rao Bahadur is present with

such a large army and artillery for carrying out my orders. Every one who would disobey me and fail or delay in paying his tribute, will be chastised by Sindhia at my bidding.'

Major Browne was all ears when listening to this conversation in the darbar, and never once opened his lips by way of reply. At the end of it he remarked, 'The English and the Wazir are obedient to the orders of the Padishah. I shall report all His Majesty's commands to them.' Saying this he put on the robe of farewell and came out. On reaching his own tent he ordered Salah-ud-din and the other clerks who had been present at the darbar to put down all these speeches in writing, and after sealing the report with their seals and endorsing it with the signatures of himself and the other sahibs of his party, he kept it carefully." (*Ibrat namah*, ii. 106 *et seq.*).

After securing this evidence of Sindhia's hostility, Browne triumphantly sent the report to the Governor-General, under cover of his own letter dated 20th April, in which he writes: "The accompanying narrative of what passed on this occasion (*viz.*, my dismissal from His Majesty) will, I imagine, explain the motives of Sindhia's conduct on this instant and convince you, Hon'ble Sir, of the nature and extent of his views. I trust also that you will at the same time do me the justice to recollect the frequent and earnest remonstrances which I have made against the different steps by which the power of Sindhia, rising to its present height, has sent him into a condition to use the language which he has done. Probably the time is not remote when the veil will be totally withdrawn and everything will appear in its real form." After posting this letter by dak chauki, he set out on his return at night.

The following is Browne's own version of the conversation at the Darbar that reached the Calcutta Council. (Select Proceed., 12th May, 1785):—

NARRATIVE of what passed on the occasion of Major Browne taking leave of his Majesty Shah Alum, April 20th, 1785.

My dismissal was to have taken place yesterday but was procrastinated at the desire of Sindhia to this morning, and about 9 o'clock his Majesty sent to summon me to his presence informing me that Sindia was already arrived.

After paying my respects to his Majesty and his asking some indifferent questions, his Majesty was pleased to express his concern at my Departure, but added that as I was sent for to Calcutta for the purpose of more clearly explaining his sentiments to the English Government, I might be of essential service both to the English and to him, since no person was so well informed of the state of everything in this quarter.

In reply I expressed my acknowledgment to his Majesty for the honour he was pleased to do me, and said that my duty to the English Government and to his Majesty both prompted me to give a faithful detail of every thing that came within the compass of my knowledge when I should arrive at Calcutta.

After granting one Khelut of dismissal (as is the customs at the Courts of Hindostan), Sindia told his Majesty that he had something particular to

say to me, and therefore requested that his Majesty would order the servants and all other persons in whom he had not particular confidence to quit the Tent. This the Shah immediately consented with, and there then remained near His Majesty's musnud ; besides Sindia, myself, Lieutenants Rind and Bird, belonging to his Majesty Shah Nizam-ul-din, belonging to Sindia Rana Khan Bye and Ambajee and Mirza Reheim Beg, belonging to me Sala-ul-din Mahomed Khan and Mirza Hidayatulla Beg, I believe there were some others near enough to hear the conversation but not perfectly. I am thus particular in order that the means may exist of forming a just idea how far Sindia wished that this matter should remain a secret.

The conversation was then opened by Sindia himself: He said, "My friendship for the English is too well-known to require any new proofs or professions, and it is as their friend that I now desire you to inform the Governor-General that it is my advice that he should fall upon means to satisfy the Shah for *Rents* due to him, which will be both for the Honor and Advantage of the English." I replied, "This is a subject which has often been discussed, and on which both his Majesty and yourself have lately addressed the Governor-General." "True (said Sindia), but I now speak to you for myself as the Friend and Wellwisher to the English".—The Shah then said, "I have written and spoken to them for years to no purpose, and last year I sent Major Browne to Lucknow to explain my situation particularly to Mr. Hastings, but this produced no effect either with respect to my requisitions or the return of the Shahzada. What better expectations can I form from Mr. Macpherson? Had the English and the Vizier acted as they ought to have done they might in conjunction with you (addressing himself to Sindia) have reduced to my authority the whole Empire of Lahore and Kathiwar ; but the English have totally neglected me ; and as for the Vizier, he employs himself in fighting cocks and running about Lucknow, and scarcely knows who is the King and who is Vizier. "What (said Sindia with seeming surprize) does the Vizier fight Cocks and run about the Town? He is very young, I suppose." "No", replied his Majesty, "he is near forty." Sindia then changing the subject asked me if I should go by way of Lucknow? I told him that I should go by water from Cawnpore, but that as I had business both public and private at Lucknow, I should endeavour to find time to go over there, while Boats were preparing for me at Cawnpore. But that my principal object was to reach Calcutta as expeditiously as possible. Sindia then said, "The Shahzada is still at Lucknow. Mr. Hastings wrote me a letter which I can produce and also told Bhow Buckshy that, if I would obtain the Shah's pardon and be security for the safety of the Shahzada, he would return to Court. I have offered both, but still he will not come." I told him that this is a point on which I do not know the sentiments of any of the parties, and that therefore Sindia had better write to them himself. He replied, "As you are going to Lucknow and Calcutta, there is no occasion for me to write ; you can explain everything, and I request you will."

On the subject of the Shahzada, his Majesty said nothing in addition to what Sindia had said ; which I attribute to the consideration he now feels in his

own mind that the Shahzada's residence in the territories of the Viceroy or the English is the best security that the Royal House of Timur can have that it shall not be set aside when the present purposes of ambition shall have been answered by the use of its Name.

JAMES BROWNE.

Thus Browne's embassy to Delhi ended in nothing, after having been "a source of heavy expense to the Company" (as Governor Macpherson noted) for over two years and a half. He had been acting in clear contravention of the original instructions and subsequent statement of policy sent to him by his master. His self-imposed tasks of establishing British control over the Delhi Government and of setting the English and Mahadji Sindhia by the ears, utterly failed.

But the student of the dying Mughal empire will be failing in gratitude if he omits to recognise the service that Browne did to the history of this period. A master of the Persian and Hindustani Tongues, he utilised his splendid opportunities at Lucknow, Agra and Delhi to collect a number of valuable Persian historical mss., and worked upon them, publishing the materials in his *India Tracts*, to which J. D. Cunningham and other writers are deeply indebted. During this embassy he secured a ms. of Kashirao's Persian narrative of the third battle of Panipat, his translation of which (printed in the *Asiatick Researches* in 1799) was our sole source on that event until recently. I have traced in a Nawab's library a ms. of this account which was transcribed on 13 Jan., 1785 at Dig, in the imperial camp, where Browne was then staying. Was it the copy made for him?

We may briefly conclude the story by saying that the Emperor's renewal of his demand for the Bengal tribute created a political crisis. The Governor-General and Anderson were both furious when they learnt of it. But thanks to the tact and influence of Khair-ud-din and the wise patience and moderation of Anderson, the storm blew over; both Emperor and Regent immediately climbed down and totally disavowed their letters of demand!

[Authorities:—Khair-ud-din's *Ibratnamah* (Pers. Ms.), Secret Proceedings up to May, 1785, and Forrest's *Selections*, Calcutta ed., Vol. iii. (in English) *Dilli-Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkaranen* and *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia*, Gwalior, 1937, (in Marathi).]

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah

THE history of India during the dissolution of the Mughal Empire makes painful reading. It is a sordid tale of mistrust, treachery, avarice, of rapine and murder ruling supreme. And yet there are bright spots to sustain interest and relieve the oppressive gloom. Now and again a noble soul springs up from the embers of the dying monarchy, sore at the ruinous present and burning to retrieve the glories of the past. The man appeared but the moment was lacking. After a heroic but fruitless struggle to save the Empire the gallant spirit broke and passed into oblivion.

One such instance is furnished in the latter half of the 18th century in the person of Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah, the eldest son of Emperor Shah Alam. Little is recorded of his early life, but it may safely be presumed that the heir-apparent to the throne of Delhi received education and training of a high order. From recorded facts he appears to be a man of many accomplishments. According to Francklin, (1) he was born about the year 1740. Twenty-one years later, in 1761, he made his first appearance in public life. The third battle of Panipat had just been fought. The victorious Abdali marched into Delhi. The throne lay vacant, for the Emperor, Alamgir II, had been cruelly murdered at the instance of his Vazir. The treacherous minister in turn took to flight for fear of retribution. The rightful heir to the throne, Shah Alam, was a fugitive in Bihar. Abdali could have proclaimed himself Emperor of India, but his army was homesick and insisted on his return to the native land. The Abdali King therefore invited Shah Alam to return to Delhi and occupy his ancestral throne. Meantime he appointed Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah regent of the Empire. Najibud-Daulah, the Afghan noble, was made Amirul Umara and placed in charge of the administration (2) It appears that the young Prince suddenly called upon to fill such an important office and in such exceptional times gave a good account of himself, maintaining harmonious relations with the minister and making himself popular with the nobles of the Court. For a period of ten years he acted in this capacity and won the confidence and esteem of all. When his father returned to Delhi, the Prince retired into private life. He received an independent *jagir* for his maintenance and spent a quiet family life enjoying homely duties and domestic pleasures.

On his return to Delhi, Shah Alam selected a very able minister in the person of Mirza Najaf Khan who served his master faithfully for a number of years. When Najaf Khan died in 1782 several rival nobles strove to

(1) Francklin : *History of Shah Aulum*.

(2) *Maasirul Umara* under *Najibud Daulah* and *Imadul Mulk*.

succeed to this high office. Afrasiab Khan, a protege of the late minister, was taken into royal favour. But before he had established himself he was overthrown by Mirza Muhammad Shafi who now became the Chief Minister. He, however, made himself unpopular by his imperious ways and haughty manners. He tried to reduce the power of the nobility by resuming their fiefs and created a feeling of general resentment against himself.

At this stage Prince Jawan Bakht seems to have felt that it was his duty to intervene. He could not sit idle and watch the royal authority dwindle away owing to internecine feuds among the nobles. He quietly placed himself at the head of the discontented chiefs and when their plans had been fully matured he disclosed everything to the Emperor. His Majesty was advised to remove Mirza Shafi, the conspirators assuring him that they would render the latter incapable of offering any resistance. The weak and imbecile Emperor yielded. Mirza Shafi, however, got scent of the plot and before the blow was delivered he took to flight.

His Majesty with great pleasure now invested the Prince with the sole direction of Imperial affairs. It looked as if there would be an end to frequent revolutions in the palace. But the old rivals, Shafi and Afrasiab, made up their differences in order to defeat the new order of things. They made common cause against the Prince and sent an ultimatum to the Emperor demanding the immediate reinstatement of Shafi as the Chief Minister. The Prince spiritedly advised the King to be firm, but the combination had frightened him out of his wits. He decided to temporise with the unruly chiefs. They killed or overpowered the adherents of the Prince. Shafi was restored to his former office and Afrasiab became his coadjutor. The Prince was relegated to the background and was meanly treated by Afrasiab. Not long after, Shafi was murdered with the connivance of Afrasiab who now became all-powerful at the Imperial Court. He possessed none of the essential qualities of statesmanship. He was selfish and utterly lacked vision. The helpless Emperor chafed under his tutelage. The Prince bitterly resented the shabby treatment he and the other members of the Royal family received at his hands. But the Minister was relentless, inexorable. They cast their eyes in different directions for a friend to deliver them from their uncomfortable position.

At about this time the news arrived at the capital that Warren Hastings was at Lucknow on a visit to the Vazir of the Empire, Nawab Asafud-Daulah. Hitherto the Emperor had received nothing but courteous and honourable treatment from the English. He now earnestly hoped that Hastings would free him from the thralldom of Afrasiab. But circumstanced as he was he could not even think of communicating his wishes to the Governor-General. The Prince knew what was passing in the mind of his august parent. Out of filial piety he made up his mind to risk even his life, if necessary, in order to be of service to him.

He resolved upon a bold and dangerous plan. Twenty-five years earlier his father had found himself in a somewhat similar situation. Emperor

Alamgir II, the Prince's grandfather, was held in galling captivity by the wicked Vazir, Ghaziuddin. Shah Alam, then a youth filled with high ambition, was kept under constant surveillance. He made good his escape by cutting the guard to pieces and galloping through a breach in the wall of the palace. The sentries coming to know of this opened a regular fusillade over him from the top of the castle, but he jumped into the Jumna and his faithful steed bore him across the stream to safety.

The Prince decided to follow the example of his father. On the 14th April, 1784, on a stormy night, he left his chamber in the palace in disguise. He climbed up to the top of the building and passed from one roof to another till he came to where his friends were waiting for him on the river bank. Then he let himself down by means of a rope and thus eluding the sentries got safely across the river. (3)

He proceeded straight to Lucknow. He had hopes of enlisting the sympathy and active co-operation of both Hastings and the Vazir. With their aid he resolved to free the King from his unscrupulous ministers and re-established his diminishing authority on a sound footing. As soon as his flight was discovered the Emperor, or rather Afrasiab Khan, in his name, wrote to the English Governor-General and the Nawab to send back the Prince without delay. (4) Hastings naturally hesitated to receive him, but reflecting on the complications that might arise if he went away elsewhere, decided to accord him a fitting reception. (5) When the Prince drew near, Hastings and the Nawab went out three miles from the city to receive him. Hastings was deeply impressed by the noble figure and the accomplished manners of this young scion of the House of Timur. He was moved to compassion when he saw royalty in rags. He resolved to champion the cause of the Prince. In his report to the gentlemen of the Council at Calcutta he stated that "they would have felt the same warmth of benevolence or let it be, if it is such, the same weakness of compassion, that I did when I first met the Prince on the plain of Mohaun, without state, without attendance, with scarce a tent for his covering or a change of raiment, but that which the recent effect of hospitality had furnished him, and with the expression of a mind evidently struggling between the pride of inherent dignity and the conscious sense of present indigence and dependence. Had his subsequent conduct developed a character unworthy of his high birth, had he appeared vain, haughty, mean, insolent or debased by the vices which almost invariably grow in the minds of men born to great pretensions, unpractised in the difficulties of common life, and not only bred, but by the necessity of political caution familiarised to the habits of sloth and dissipation, I would have contented myself with bestowing on him the mere compliment of external respect, and consulting only the propriety of my own conduct, not yielded to the impulse of a more generous sentiment. I saw him almost daily in

(3) H. G. Keene : *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*.

(4) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 1784, no. 39.

(5) G. W. Forrest : *Selections from the State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India*, Vol. III, p. 1096.

the course of near six months . . . and I found him gentle, lively, possessed of a high sense of honour, of a sound judgment, an uncommonly quiet penetration, and a well-cultivated understanding. With a spirit of resignation and an equality of temper almost exceeding any within the reach of my own knowledge or recollection."(6)

From Mohan the Prince was escorted to Lucknow where a royal reception was accorded to him. Hastings prevailed upon the Nawab to allow him a subsidy of 4 lakhs of rupees per annum for his maintenance. The Prince informed his hosts that the object of his visit was to devise means to serve the King and sued them for military assistance. The Nawab depended on the English for the protection of his own frontiers, and the Governor-General by himself, was not competent to enter into any engagement of this character. He therefore consulted his colleagues in the Council who unequivocally refused to be drawn into the politics of Delhi.

Hastings therefore resolved to use his influence to facilitate the return of the Prince to Delhi. The Prince was agreeable to this arrangement but he wanted an attendance sufficient for his protection, as well as a *jagir* equal to the one given to him during the administration of the late minister, Najaf Khan. He further wished to be employed on service against the Sikhs who were making serious inroads into the royal domains. These were fair and honourable terms and Hastings opened negotiations with His Majesty.

As a result of his endeavours Afrasiab Khan agreed to allow the Prince to return to Delhi attended with four companies of sepoys from the British forces and make over the districts of Rohtak and Singhana to him as his *jagir*. The Prince, in return, was to countenance and support the minister and to act with his advice. (7) An engagement to this effect was formally executed and the Prince set out towards Farrukhabad on his way to Delhi. At this juncture, Hastings was suddenly called away to Calcutta on account of the death of Mr. Wheler who had been left by him in charge of the Presidency.

Shortly after this Afrasiab was assassinated. This event and the confusion that followed it kindled the fire of ambition in the heart of the Prince. He saw the chance of a lifetime. The King wished him to return and assume charge of affairs. Major Browne, the British Agent at Delhi, recommended this step. The Prince therefore solicited the Governor-General to help him with an armed force as without this he could not influence the direction of events. But the English were not inclined to enter into any such arrangement. He was referred to Mahadaji Sindhia who had promised Hastings that he would help the Prince to return to the capital.

But events were moving too fast for leisurely negotiations. Immediately on the death of Afrasiab, Sindhia stepped into his shoes and assumed command of the army. He saw the King and was received into royal favour. Sindhia now invited the Prince to come over to the capital and assured him

(6) *Op. cit.*, p. 1128.

(7) I. R. D., English Translation of Persian Letters Received, 1784, Vol. 22, no. 73.

that there was no necessity of armed force to attend on him. (8) The Prince was not prepared to trust him. Major Palmer, the Resident at Lucknow, and on his advice the Nawab Vazir, had discouraged him because it was agreed that Sindhia must not be allowed to have the Emperor as well as the heir-apparent in his power. The question was accordingly dropped and the Prince stayed on at Lucknow.

Shortly after, an estrangement grew up between the Prince and the Nawab Vazir. It appears that the Nawab began to consider his august guest an unnecessary burden on his exchequer and his manners, accordingly, grew cold towards him. The Prince who was already smarting under a consciousness of obligation and was mortified at being the object of benevolence rather than the dispenser of it took this very much to heart. In 1786 when the Nawab was on a visit to Fyzabad he suddenly, and without notice, left Lucknow, went to Benares and took up his abode at the garden-house of Madho Das. (9) The Nawab was annoyed and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to continue his allowance to the Prince and make it payable at Benares.

In August, 1787 the Prince received information that Sindhia was away from the capital, that his power had received a serious set-back at the hands of the Rajput Princes of Jaipur and Jodhpur, and that taking advantage of the situation, Ghulam Qadir, the Rohilla Chieftain, was threatening Delhi. He resolved to make a last effort to do his duty to his sovereign and parent by purging the Royal Court of the time-servers. He, accordingly, addressed His Majesty and offered to place his services at his disposal. The old Emperor eagerly besought his son to come to his aid. (10) He also wrote to the Vazir and the British Governor-General to help him in his hour of need. The Emperor was sick at the frequency of revolutions in the Court. There was never a man whom he had taken into his confidence who had not betrayed him. This time it was his favourite Controller of Household, Manzur Ali, who had invited the Rohilla, Ghulam Qadir, to frighten him and the royal family by bombarding the citadel. Circumstances forced the King to summon him to the Presence and confer on him a *khillat* and appoint him to the offices which were supposed to be held by Sindhia. In his frantic appeal for help addressed to the Prince, the Vazir and the Governor-General he sets forth how he was compelled to temporise with the Rohilla and how that insolent chief had openly declared that if his demands were not complied with he would "set up another master for offering his salaams." (11).

The young Prince's blood boiled when he heard accounts of the insults that were offered to his family. Once again he appealed to the English and the Vazir to take up the Emperor's cause and help him with an armed force.

(8) *Ibid.*, no. 94 (3).

(9) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 27 Sept. 1786, no. 131; 21 Sept. 1787, no. 477.

(10) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 16 Sept. 187, no. 465.

(11) *Ibid.*

Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, happened to be at Lucknow at this moment. The Prince hastened to see him there. At his request his lordship removed the misunderstanding that had arisen between him and the Vazir. With regard to military aid, however, he was firm on the ground that the British Government could not afford him any, as such a step would militate against their considered policy of non-intervention. The Prince was, of course, free to take the risk. If he prospered in his hazardous plans it would give pleasure and satisfaction to his friends ; if he failed, he could always count upon the English to afford him a safe and honourable asylum in their territories. (12) The Prince then asked for an advance payment of five months' allowance which the Nawab Vazir had fixed for him. His lordship promised to use his influence with the Nawab Vazir in the matter. But only a lakh of rupees was made available for him. (13)

Equipped with such slender resources he set out for Delhi where he seems to have arrived without opposition. The Emperor was overjoyed to see him and at once entrusted him with the sole direction of the royal affairs. The new administration opened with great promises and enthusiasm. The Prince stood for a bold and vigorous policy, the principal object being to rally friends and disperse enemies. The people looked forward to an era of peace and prosperity as the government was now in the hands of the natural masters of the country. This caused consternation among interested persons. The Emperor's ears were poisoned against the Prince. It was given out that he was not sincere in his professions of loyalty and that he was biding his time till he could capture the Treasury and the leadership of the army. In other words, it was impressed on him that the Prince was planning to depose His Majesty and proclaim himself Emperor.

Shah Alam, whom continuous misery and affliction had thoroughly unnerved, gave a willing ear to these base insinuations. He grew jealous and eyed the dutiful activities of his son with a suspicion unworthy of himself. When the Prince proposed a campaign for the consolidation of the royal authority in the Doab, he refused to lead the army. Other indications were not wanting to show that the intrigues of a clique headed by Manzur Ali had succeeded against his filial services and devotion. Dispirited and downhearted he applied for a *jagir* to retire upon in case of eventualities. The province of Agra was assigned to him and he left the Royal Court with his family, never to return there again.

At Agra he made an unsuccessful attempt to take possession of the province. He was handicapped by lack of funds and men. In a letter to Lord Cornwallis he again appealed for assistance in the following words :—"At this time, assistance in money and troops from you, my brother, is necessary in the same manner as formerly in 'that' quarter a battalion was stationed as a guard at my tent. Therefore assist me now with some money and four battalions, so that they may serve as a personal guard to me. If you do this,

(12) I. R. D., English Translation of Persian Letters Written, 1787, Vol. 34, no. 108.

(13) *Ibid.*, no. 119.

by G&D's help the whole country will come into our possession." (14) He proceeded to explain that formerly the British Government could not help him because of their engagement with Sindhia who was then taking an active part in the politics of Delhi. No such impediments now obstructed them, as Sindhia had retreated to Gwalior after his defeat at the hands of Ismail Beg, a rising Mughal Chief. The field was now clear and a little exertion would accomplish much. (15) The aid so earnestly sought for was, however, not forthcoming. The Prince was thrown back on his own resources. Ismail Beg, whom he next approached for help refused to listen to him, while the perfidious Ghulam Qadir laid a plot to take him prisoner.

Forsaken and forlorn, the Prince decided to abjure politics for good. He had been actuated by the best of motives but he was not destined to succeed. In utter despair he broke up his camp, and with a heavy heart proceeded with his family and a number of loyal adherents to the English frontiers where he could always find a safe asylum.

Arriving at Farrukhabad in the month of March, he notified the facts of his case both to the Governor-General and the Nawab Vazir. Asafud-Daulah was reluctant to harbour him in his own territory and even wrote to Lord Cornwallis to refuse him an asylum in the English dominions. He wrote: "In the first place I have it not in my power to pay the money for his expenses In the next place I have several objections to His Royal Highness's residence at Lucknow His residence in the Company's territories indeed is not advisable. The Company's territories and mine are the same" (16).

But Lord Cornwallis had pledged his word to him and it was impossible for him to retract. The question of his allowance was a matter for negotiation. The Governor-General proposed Rajmahal for the residence of the Prince to which the latter agreed. In the meantime the Prince went out one night, unattended to the Vazir's house and tried to remove the misunderstanding which existed between the two of them. The Vazir was mollified. (17)

Lord Cornwallis impressed upon the Vazir the propriety of continuing the Prince's allowances. Nawab Asafud-Daulah agreed to provide three lakhs a year. The Prince complained that this amount was not commensurate with his dignity and position and that formerly he could manage with four lakhs a year as he was then living alone. And now that relying on the hospitality of the Vazir and the Company he had brought his wife and children with him it would not be possible for him to make the ends meet on such a paltry allowance. He was prevailed upon to reduce his establishment and curtail his expenses and was requested to proceed immediately to Rajmahal or Sasaram where living was cheaper than in any of the big towns. It was impressed on the Prince that the Company had numerous financial worries

(14) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 23 Jan. 1788, no. 76.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 13 Mar. 1788, no. 174.

(17) *Ibid.*, 25 Apr. 1788, no 239.

of their own to attend to and that it was not possible for them to do anything more for him. The Prince perfectly realised the helplessness of the situation. He only begged for time to settle his affairs and asked for an advance to pay off those of his attendants whom he could no longer retain in service.

About this time the fatigue and discomfort of daily marches through the heat and dust of the summer months began to tell upon the health of his wife and children. The strain was too much for young and gently nurtured princes and princesses who had never set foot beyond the precincts of the Imperial Palace. They fell ill one after another and the Prince was obliged to prolong his stay at Benares. Lest his action might be misconstrued he hastened to assure his hosts that he had not changed his mind. He explained his position to Lord Cornwallis thus : ".....You have also written on the subject of our march to Rajmahal or Sasaram. Brother mine, notwithstanding the Begam's bad health and my own indisposition and sickness among 200 people in the female apartments I had decided to set out for Sasaram.....I have travelled a great deal and can bear climatic and other inconveniences of travelling, unlike the young princes and the ladies of the household who have never set foot out of the Fort of Delhi. May God make the climate agree with them and may they recover soon! For these reasons I am unable to proceed forward. When the rains are over I shall set out....."(18)

He passed an extremely unhappy time at Benares. Despair and disappointment had broken his spirit. Constant worry and anxiety over the future of his dear and near ones had shattered his health. Fate which had been unkind to him throughout his life now sent mercy to him in the form of Death. On 31st May, 1788, as he was returning from a visit to Chunar he was seized with a sudden pain in the chest. Next morning he expired, a mortified and broken-hearted man.

The circumstances of his death are recorded by his wife, Qutlaq Sultan Begam in her letter to Lord Cornwallis, received on the 12th June 1788. She writes : "His Royal Highness on the 24th *Shaban* (31st May) about three o'clock in the morning, left for Chunargarh and after spending a short time there returned to Benares the same evening, an hour before sunset. The whole night he was uneasy and restless, feeling a burning sensation in the body. When morning dawned he said he had a great pain in the chest. At the time for prayers he wrote two letters with his own hand, one addressed to Mr. Duncan (19) and the other to Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan, (20) and having affixed his seal to them he handed them to me saying that he would write to his brother, the Governor-General, and the Nawab Vazir regarding me. I asked him why he was talking in such a desponding manner and why he had written these letters. He replied that the pain in his chest was very severe, and that these letters would be of help to me. Then he stepped out of his chamber but returned shortly after when he fainted and fell unconscious on

(18) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 31st May 1788, no. 286.

(19) The Resident at Benares.

(20) Chief Judge at Benares.

the ground, perspiring profusely. He sent for the physician who felt his pulse. He then asked for a cooling draught. Suddenly his eyes rolled and he became unconscious again. People thought it was an apoplectic seizure. When Mr. Duncan and Ali Ibrahim learnt of this they called on him with Hakim Abdullah and some European doctors. They opened a vein and applied remedies. As life was already extinct their ministrations were of no avail. This misfortune has crushed me under a mountain of affliction and has left me bewildered and miserable in the extreme. I am writing this to you because the deceased Prince considered the Company's territories as his home and refuge and came with his family in order to settle here under your protection. I trust that I may be allowed to reside here under your protection by the side of the tomb of the departed worthy. I hope that from your friendly regard for the Prince you will observe the same rules of protection towards me as towards the late Prince when he was alive." (21)

The letters alluded to in the foregoing message are pathetic in the extreme. While they reveal the natural anxiety of a dying person for the welfare of his survivors they also indicate the light in which he regarded the people who controlled the affairs of the Royal Palace at Delhi.

The letter to Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan runs thus: "My brother, dearer than life, Ali Ibrahim Khan; At this moment my condition is extremely bad owing to severe pain. If I live, well and good. If God forbid that, I die and the King sends for my wife and the ladies of my family you must never allow them to go. You must consider them as your mother and sister and keep them where they are. Otherwise I shall catch hold of your skirt and seek redress against you on the Day of Judgment." (22)

The letter to Mr. Duncan is to the same effect, but couched in much more positive terms as follows: "My brother, dear as life, Mr. Duncan! At this moment my condition is extremely bad owing to a severe pain in the chest. If I survive, well and good. If I die, I shall only be submitting to the Divine Will. I enjoin on you in the name of all that you hold sacred that you must ever support my family. Continue to my wife the allowance you are paying me now. Should the King summon her, I beg of you, by all that is sacred in your religion, that you must never send her or my sons to him. I am laying down my life in your country; you must preserve the honour of my household for the love of Virgin Mary. For the sake of the Holy Virgin do not send my wife under any circumstance whatever to Shahjahanabad. I am writing this at a time when my senses are giving way in order to impress on your mind the memory of my last request." (23) *Inna lillâhe wa innâ ilaihe râje'ûn.* (24)

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

(21) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 12th Jun., 1788, no. 342

(22) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 16 Jul. 1788, no. 407

(23) *Ibid.*, 8 Jun. 1788, no. 333.

(24) Al Quaran, Chap. II, "We are God's, and unto Him shall we surely return".

Administration of Justice in Bengal in the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century

SUMMARY.

Paras 1—2. Judicial Records in the custody of the Government of Bengal. Their importance with special reference to the development of the Hindu and Muhammadan systems of Law under the British Rule.

Paras 3—4. Administration of English law in India before the grant of the Diwani in 1765 and Courts of Law administering English law. Administration of Justice in the interior of Bengal.

Para 5. Courts of Law in Calcutta in 1765.

Paras 6—10. Justice as administered after the grant of the Diwani. Changes introduced by Warren Hastings in 1772. Effect of these changes.

Paras 11—12. Establishment of the Provincial Councils of Revenue in 1773. Transfer of the Civil Jurisdiction to these Councils. Controversies between the Executive Government and the Supreme Court and the consequences. Temporary suspension of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Promulgation of a series of regulations for the administration of Justice in Bengal. Their effects.

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Paras 14—17. Revival and reconstitution of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Faujdari Courts and changes introduced in the system of administration of Criminal Justice in 1781. Translation of Hindu and Muhammadan system of Jurisprudence.

Paras 18—19. Appointment of English Judges of Diwani Courts as Magistrates. Its disadvantages. Magistrates accordingly vested in 1787 with authority to try petty offences and to inflict punishments.

Paras 20—22. Changes introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1790. Opening of a separate series of consultations for judicial matters in the Revenue Department.

Paras 23—25. Creation of a Judicial Department in 1793 with two branches, one for the administration of Civil Justice and another for the administration of Criminal Justice. Appointment of Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit. Indian Pleaders to plead in the Zillah and City Courts. Appointment of Government Pleader. The Police.

Para 26. Invitation to bono-fide students of history who want to work on the records of the period.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BENGAL IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Government of Bengal possess the entire records relating to the administration of justice under the East India Company in Bengal up to the year 1834, when the designation of the Governor-General of Bengal was changed to that of Governor-General of India and Bengal "shrank to what was known as the Lower Provinces." A study of these records will reveal to a student of history how the Hindu and Muhammadan systems of Law were developed under early British rule in India, and to what extent the systems of law as now administered are those which were in vogue before the English established their supremacy in Bengal following their assumption of the Diwani in 1765. They will also show how far British Law has been superimposed on these systems, and whether for good or for evil. These records do not merely contain a narration of events in chronological order, but also demonstrate how various elements of law were called into being by the creators of British India to meet the demands that were made upon them by the complexities of a society which was composed of diverse races possessing different languages and cultures. The legislators of the 18th Century may have committed blunders in superimposing their own ideas and notions upon the systems of Hindu and Muhammadan law as they obtained then, and these records contain a promising field for research work in this connection.

2. A perusal of these records shows that Hindus and Muhammadans were, before the grant of the Diwani to the English, in enjoyment of their own laws relating to the acquisition of property. The Muhammadan Government had established only a system of criminal law ; and the policy of the English legislators was to frame rules, ordinances and regulations that were not repugnant to the existing laws of the country (13 Geo. III. Ch. 63, Sec. 36-37).

3. The records and the literature on the subject, which are available in the archives of the Provincial Government, will explain how English law was administered in Mayor's Courts, Courts of Oyer and Terminer and the Quarter Sessions, and how the jurisdiction of these Courts existed side by side with the native courts. In the instructions to the Supervisors who were appointed in 1769, will be found a picture of the justice that was administered in the interior of Bengal. Accounts of the Company's servants' securing the arrest of zemindars under orders of the Mayor's Court for realisation of money advanced to them, of trials of the Company's servants for having occupied themselves in pursuits not sanctioned by the Court of Directors, and of other similar incidents enliven these old records with a touch of romance, and reveal how the early creators of British India gradually built up a system of law which they thought was likely to promote the peace and happiness of a people alien to them by race, culture, and tradition.

4. A bare outline of the administration of justice as obtaining in Bengal in the latter half of the 18th Century is given below, omitting the incidents

which had led to the establishment of the Supreme Court and its quarrels with the Government.

5. Up to the date of the fall of Calcutta in 1756, it appears that there were four Courts in the town, *viz.* :—

(1) The Mayor's Court, created in 1727 by a Charter, which was renewed in 1753. It exercised jurisdiction over subjects of the British Crown, their dependants and those who by voluntary submission subjected themselves to its jurisdiction.

(2) The Fauzdari Court, dealing with cases of a criminal nature among the Indian inhabitants.

(3) The Court of (Adalat) Cutchry, dealing with Civil Suits among the Indian inhabitants.

(4) The Collector's Cutcherry, for the Settlement of Revenue cases.

6. When the Diwani was granted to the East India Company, the arrangement appears to have been that the hearing of civil suits belonged of right to the power possessing the Diwani, and that the authority of the Nawab Nazim in the administration of Criminal Justice in cases where his own subjects were concerned remained entire. It might have been the duty of the Company's servants in the mufassil to cause disturbers of the peace to be apprehended and placed on trial, but the sentence (Fatwa) would be sent down to the locality by the Nawab's ministers at Murshidabad.

7. The first important changes in this system were introduced in 1772 by Warren Hastings, as President of the Committee of Circuit. The Committee recommended that in each district two Courts should be established, *viz.* :—

(1) Mofussil Diwani Adawlat or Provincial Court of Diwani, dealing with all disputes concerning property (real or personal), inheritance, marriage, caste, debt, contracts, demands of revenue, etc. Claims to Zamindaries were, however, to be dealt with by the President and Council. In this Court the Collector was to preside on the part of the Company as the Diwan, and was to be assisted by a provincial Diwan to be nominated by the President and Council.

(2) Mofussil Fauzdari Adalat, exercising jurisdiction over all cases of murder, assaults, frays, quarrels, adultery and breach of peace. Here the "Kazi" or Mufti of the district and two Maulvies should sit to expound the law, and determine how far the delinquents were guilty of a breach thereof ; but the Collector would also make it his business to attend to the proceedings of this Court, to the extent of seeing that all the necessary witnesses were summoned and examined, that the decision passed was fair and impartial according to the proofs exhibited in the course of the trial, and that no cause should be heard or determined but in open Court regularly assembled. This Court was empowered to inflict corporal punishment, labour on roads, etc., but where capital punishment

- was required, the confirmation of the sentence by the Nazim was necessary. The method of appointing the officers of the local Fauzdari Adalat was settled in July, 1773. The Darogah of the Sudder Nizamat Adalat, the Kazi-ul-Kuzzat and the Chief Mufti recommended persons for appointment, but the parwanas were not issued until they had received the sanction of the Governor and Council.

8. At the Presidency of Fort William, two Superior Courts were to be established, *viz.* :—

(1) Sadar Diwani Adalat, to receive and determine appeals from the Mofussil Diwani Adalats. The President and two Members of the Council, attended by the Diwan of the Khalsa and the head Kanungoes and other officers of the cutcherry, would constitute the Court. In the absence of the President a third member of the Council was to replace him; that is to say, not less than three members of the Council were to decide an appeal. There was no bar to the whole Council, if they chose, sitting as the Sadar Diwani Adalat.

(2) Sadar Nizamat Adalat—A Chief Officer of Justice, representing the Nazim, was to preside in the Sadar Nizamat Adalat with the title of the Daroga Adalat, and was to be assisted by the Chief Kazi, the Chief Mufti and other capable Mulvis. Their duty would be to revise all proceedings of the Mofussil Fauzdari Adalats, and in capital cases by signifying their approbation or disapprobation with their reasons at large, to prepare sentences for the warrants of the Nazim, which were to be returned to the mofussil and then carried into execution. The proceedings of the Court were to be watched over by the President and Council, so that the Company's administration in the character of the King's Diwan was satisfied that justice was being done.

9. The effect of these regulations of the Committee of Circuit was not to institute new Courts of Justice, but to transfer the Courts of Appeal from Murshidabad to Calcutta, to vest in the Collector the right to preside in the local Civil Courts of his district, and to prevent miscarriage of justice in the local Criminal Courts. The right of the Nawab or Nazim to confirm or alter sentences of death was carefully preserved.

10. The records of these Courts are not available in the Bengal Historical Record Room, but a good deal of light as to the causes brought before them is to be found in the records of different Revenue authorities of the period and in the district records of the Collectors.

11. On the establishment of the Provincial Councils of Revenue in 1773, the collectors were withdrawn, and the civil jurisdiction in the mofussil was transferred to these Provincial Councils. At Calcutta, fierce controversies between the Executive Government and the Judges of the Supreme Court led to the temporary suspension of the Sadar Diwani Adalat; and finally on the

11th April, 1780, the Governor-General and Council promulgated a series of Regulation, for the administration of justice. By these Regulations, the jurisdiction of the Provincial Councils of Revenue in all cases which had an immediate relation to the public revenue were confirmed, but whereas in the past the members of the Provincial Councils sat in rotation to decide civil cases in the several district adalats, it was now decided :—

(1) that there should continue to be Courts of Civil Judicature in each of the Grand Divisions of Calcutta, Murshidabad, Burdwan, Dacca, Purnea and Patna, and that over each of these Courts a Company's covenanted servant should preside under the title of Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat :

(2) that this Superintendent was to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and that his jurisdiction was to be separate from and independent of the Provincial Councils.

12. The effect of these Regulations was not altogether satisfactory, for the Adalats came into conflict with the Provincial Councils. Accordingly, in his Minute dated the 29th September 1780, Hastings advocated the revival of the Sadar Diwani Adalat; and Sir Elijah Impey was subsequently appointed Chief Judge of this revived Court.

13. Meanwhile Philip Francis left India, and Hastings had no rival in the Council. On 20th February 1781 he dissolved the Provincial Councils of Revenue, and the Collectors were again revived and sent to the districts. In the same year it was arranged that in the districts of Chapra, Bhagalpur, Chittagong and Ramgarh the Collector was to be Collector and Judge. In the remaining districts the Judge was to be an official unconnected with the Revenue Administration.

14. Having reconstituted the Sadar Diwani Adalat and placed it under the control and management of Sir Elijah Impey, Warren Hastings was in a position to deal with the Fauzdari Adalats, which still in theory depended on the Naib Nazim at Murshidabad. Under the Regulation of August 21, 1772 the Collectors of Revenue had been charged with the duty of superintending the offices of the Fauzdari Courts, to see that the necessary witnesses were summoned and examined, that due weight was given to the evidence and that the decisions were impartially and fairly given. When the Murshidabad Controlling Council of Revenue was abolished, the Sadar Nizamat Adalat was brought to Calcutta and placed under the charge of a Darogah, subject to the control of the President and Council, who on behalf of the Nawab revised the sentences of the Criminal Court in capital cases. The establishment of the of the Supreme Court led to the suspension of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. For similar reasons probably, the Nizamat Adalat was sent back to the old capital on 18th October 1775 and placed under charge of Muhammad Riza Khan. The Naib Nazim appointed officers denominated Fauzdars, assisted by persons versed in Muhammadan Law, to superintend the Criminal Courts in the several districts and to apprehend and to bring to trial offenders against the public peace.

15. On April 6, 1781, Hastings formed a plan to supplement the Fauzdari Courts. These Courts were to continue their operations and to remain under the superintendence of the Naib Nazim, but the English Judges of the Diwani Courts were appointed Magistrates and invested with powers to apprehend persons charged with crimes and misdemeanours and to commit them to the nearest Faujdari Court for trial, judgment being reserved to the Nizamat. These measures strengthened the hands of the English District Officers, and tended to secure the peace of the districts.

16. The Bengal Historical Record Room does not contain any records under the heading "Judicial" for the period of the administration of Warren Hastings, but some of the volumes of the proceedings of the Provincial Council of Revenue at Patna contain the proceedings of the Court of Appeal at Patna.

17. Warren Hastings at this stage also initiated the policy of having the Hindu and Muhammadan system of jurisprudence translated and codified by the finest scholars available.

18. We observed before that Hastings appointed the English Judges of the Diwani Court as Magistrates with the power to apprehend criminals and hand them over to the nearest Fauzdari Courts for trial. This newly acquired power had, however, put them at a great disadvantage, for the Magistrates were unable to pronounce sentences. They were obliged to deliver prisoners under trial to the Darogahs or Superintendents of the Fauzdari Courts, and the delays in terminating trials became intolerable, the trial itself being a greater punishment than the sentence.

19. On 27th June, 1787, it was accordingly decided under the regime of Lord Cornwallis, that the Magistrates were to be vested with authority to hear and decide complaints of petty offences, and to inflict corporal punishment and impose fines on offenders. This measure, however, proved insufficient.

20. In the famous consultation of the 3rd December, 1790 (Revenue Department, Judicial Branch, O. C. No. 33), the Governor-General in Council passed a series of Regulations, the principal effect of which was :—

(i) to restore the Nizamat Adalat to Calcutta. In this Court the Governor-General and the members of the Supreme Council were to superintend the administration of Criminal Justice throughout the province,

(ii) to establish Courts of Circuit, under the superintendence of English Judges assisted by Indians versed in Muhammadan Law, for trying in the first instance persons charged with crimes or misdemeanours.

21. Accordingly four Courts of Circuit were established at Calcutta, Patna, Dacca, and Murshidabad as intermediate judiciaries between the Zillah Courts and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat at Calcutta. The rule was also introduced that Government itself was liable to be sued for exaction and infringement of the rights of land holders, and that in such suits the Judges should be persons free from all obligations to enforce the financial claims

of Government. In these Regulations the Collectors were, except in the cities of Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca, vested with powers of Magistrates, whose duties were clearly defined.

22. During this transition stage, the Governor-General had to open a separate series of consultations for judicial matters, which had been hitherto dealt with in the Revenue Department. The exact date on which this separate Branch, *viz.*, the Judicial Branch of the Revenue Department, was opened is not ascertainable ; but extant proceedings of this authority date from 6th August, 1790.

23. The Judicial Branch of the Revenue Department continued till the end of April, 1793, when as a result of the reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis, a Separate Judicial Department of the Supreme Council was established by a resolution dated the 26th April, 1793. Two separate series of proceedings were opened, one for civil justice and another for criminal justice including police.

24. With the formation of the Judicial Department, Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit were established with effect from the 1st May, 1793 ; and recognised Native pleaders were permitted to plead the causes of parties in suits instituted in the Zillah and city courts of the Diwani Adalat, the Provincial Courts of Appeal and the Sadar Diwani Adalat. These pleaders were to hold their appointments from the Governor-General in Council, and were not removeable except for incapacity or misconduct proved to his satisfaction. One of these pleaders, who appeared to be the ablest, was to be appointed to prosecute and defend suits in which Government was a party and regulations were framed for the selection and appointment of pleaders generally.

25. The Police were at this time declared to be under the exclusive control of officers appointed by Government ; and land-holders and farmers were prohibited from keeping up their establishments of Police and were exempted from responsibility for robberies committed within their jurisdictions, unless their connivance was proved. The existing Police divisions were retained and they were each to be guarded, as before, by a darogah, who was directed to maintain a staff of Police officers at the expense of Government, and to apprehend and send to the Magistrate all persons charged with crimes and misdemeanours and all vagrants. The Magistrates and Police officers of cities were invested with concurrent authority in their respective jurisdiction and in the Zillahs. The cities were divided into Wards, to be guarded by Darogahs who were to be under the immediate inspection and subject to the authority of the Kotwals of each city.

26. The above is a bare outline and is intended for those who desire to work on these records of the period. A detailed account relating to these records is being included in the Hand-book to the Records of the Government of Bengal, 1758—1858, which is under compilation.

Skraps of Fort William Regimental History.

(Continued).

IN an order dated July, 25, 1812, The East India Company offered inducements in the shape of "a bounty of 64 sicca rupees was to be paid to every foreigner, (Frenchmen excepted) who may enlist in the Hon'ble Company's artillery or infantry for a term of five years."

Those were the days when every well brought up English boy was taught to fear God, honour the King, and hate the French. The belief was cultivated that the French were not to be trusted, and they were held up to odium for many defects, one, often quoted, of the way those Frenchmen who enlisted in the East India Company's regiments, deserted when they were most needed. Something like that certainly happened with those who, as prisoners of war, joined the East Indian Company's army. But the Company's story was a half truth, and while a half truth, like a half brick, can hit hard, one man's story is no story. It should be remembered that numbers who joined the 84th Foot were drowned when the country ship Fateh Salam foundered in the Bay of Bengal. Mons. Buffard of Chandernagore, most kindly translated for this article, the French account of what happened.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LIFE OF R. MADEC, BY E. BARBE.

Le Nabab Rene Madec, par Emile Barbe, Paris,—Felix Alcan, editeur,—1894.

Page 27. After the fall of Pondichery—(the English took it, 14 January, 1761)—only Gingy and Thiagar were left to us on the Coromandel coast. The English marched against the former, which the cavalry left before their arrival. Madec's sickness prevented his leaving the place with them (the cavalry). As the English were about to surround the place it was decided to abandon it to them after three days and to occupy three positions that commanded the town. There, we still held on for three months; but after that we had to capitulate for want of provisions and help. Madec was taken by the English, together with the last defenders of our power in India and transferred to Madras.

"The unfortunate prisoners of our Nation," says Madec in his "memoires" were subjected by the victor, in the prisons of Madras, to unimaginable bad treatment. Many perished; others, to avoid the same fate and in the hope of finding some loophole later, accepted to serve in the English army in Bengal." Seeing no other possible alternative, Madec took service as sergeant

in an English company commanded by Martin—Lion, his old comrade of Mazulipatam, with 105 other French prisoners. For a long time the English had been sending messengers to the latter to tell them that they would be made to serve in Bengal (where alas! France had no further interest) and only against Indians; that they could therefore enrol themselves in their ranks, without any patriotic scruple.

"I persuaded," Madec tells us, "several of our companions to accept this proposal, by showing them that it was the only means to break our fetters and to regain our liberty. We made a sort of pact among ourselves, whereby we pledged ourselves to take the first opportunity to snap the chain which a horrid necessity had cast around us." (Madec's letter d/Agra 1775) It is thus that Madec and his companions were taken to Calcutta, where they were in garrison for a year, without any incident.

Page 28. One should read in the "Memoires" of Gentil, how Madec by his dashing courage and his knowledge of the art of war made easy for the English their task at Rajmahal, after the victory of Moxoudabad (Murshidabad.) Thanks to Madec, Major Adams was able to capture the artillery and ammunitions of the Nabab's (Massem-Ali-Khan) army. Gentil says he heard this detail from Sombre himself, as well as from Madec.

Page 31. The Company (E. I. Co.) of Calcutta owed their troops twenty two months of pay at the time when they were about to take the field against Sudjah-Dowlah. Our Frenchmen clamoured in vain for their dues: hence a mutiny which spread among the English themselves. One morning, at about 8 o'clock, the malcontents sounded the call to arms, took up their muskets some seven or eight hundred of them, and lined up in battle order, ready to start off. The officers came then and begged of the mutineers to give up their attempt, without however offering them their arrears of pay. The mutineers seized the guns which they dragged themselves, for want of oxen, and set off. Two leagues away, the troop halted—There they decided to elect a leader; Madec was elected by unanimous acclamation. He gave the order to beat a salute, and continued the march.

This time, the English officers, realising the danger followed the deserters with lacs of rupees, offering payment and making many promises. They succeeded in bringing back all the Englishmen but two; but the Frenchmen held on, not one yielded. In the evening, the troops encamped. Madec, still fearing the solicitations of the English officers, sounded the call to arms at midnight, as the men were not answering the call, he had it proclaimed: "Let whoever loves me follow me;" Two hundred and fifty Frenchmen, and the two Englishmen, answered the appeal. They left at once; at dawn they were before Benares. . . . and after a march of thirteen days Madec's corps joined the camp of Sudjah-Dowlah. *Page 243.*

That is Madec's account, but according to Herbert Compton and Mr. Charles Grey he was an illiterate and ignorant Frenchman, who had been a pirate as well as a private in the French army in Southern India. One can

hardly expect a man with those experiences to be truthful, particularly as he did not write his memoirs himself. He was more than likely to be one of those of whom you couldn't believe even the opposite of what he said.

He eventually made his way to Delhi "where he entered the service of Najaf Khan for whom he raised a corps of five battalions of infantry, 600 cavalry, and 20 guns. Eight or more years later "Madec, having realised a small fortune, retired to Europe, where he was not long afterwards killed in a duel."

"Claude Martin was an early companion of Madec, in India. The latter calls him, in his Memoires, Martin-Lion-but it must be read-Martin of Lyons, for he was born in that town where he founded, with part of his immense wealth, the school "La Martiniere"—Herbert Compton leaves no doubt to this identification."

But there was another happening which further strengthened the anti-French feeling, and more probably led up to the order of July 25. 1812.

The British forces engaged in fighting the Dutch at Java, discovered, on the morning of August 10, 1811, that, at Weltevreden, the "commanding officer's quarters were kept by a Frenchman who had the baseness to poison the coffee prepared for the breakfast of Colonel Gillespie and his staff; but the atrocious attempt was unsuccessful, the effects of the poison having manifested themselves before sufficient had been taken to produce the intended murder. In the confusion of the moment the villian escaped." (Rafter's *Our Anglo-Indian Army* p. 363.)

Sir Rollo Gillespie, was dubbed by Sir John Fortescue (historian of the British Army) as "The Bravest Soldier." When a tiger broke into a crowd at a race meeting, Colonel Gillespie "snatched a lance from a native cavalryman, mounted his pony, rode at the tiger and killed it." Major Eric Wakeham who has written the life of Gillespie remarks, "A diligent search through military history will fail to disclose any example of prowess to surpass, if any to equal, the individual exploits of Rollo Gillespie at Cornelis." It can therefore be hardly wondered at that the attempt on his life in Java made the French more unpopular than ever, if that were possible, hence the order—"Frenchmen excepted."

The following lines, taken from a parody on "The Splendid Shilling," by Philips, appeared in a Calcutta Periodical about 1812. . . . To far too many much of it is true today.

"So pass my days. But when nocturnal shades
This world envelop, and the sultry air
Persuades men to allay their parching thirst
With pleasing wines, and plates of cooling ice!
Me, bilious sitting, midst ten thousand swarms
Of curs'd mosquitoes, in a narrow room,
Itching, behold! and feed with dismal thoughts
My anxious mind, or sometimes, take a flute
And play Mol Roe, or mournful March in Saul ;

Or muse on banish'd youth, and poor cadets,
 Or rum orthographers, and A B C!
 Meanwhile I labor with eternal itch,
 And restless scratch and rave ; my bitten legs
 Find no relief, nor heavy eyes repose ;
 But if a slumber haply does invade
 My weary limbs ; my fancy still awake,
 Thoughtful of ease, and eager in a dream,
 Murders imaginary swarms of flies,
 In vain—awake, I find their cursed bites
 Still itching, and the pleasing phantom phantherus curse."

Another poem written by a lady to her friend in England begins :—

"After a sultry restless night,
 Tormented with the hum and bite
 Of pois-nous insects out of number,
 That here infest one's midnight slumber."
 And—one other :—

"Curse on the ship in evil hour that bore
 My jolted frame to India's burning shore!
 An inauspicious hour from which I date
 The bitter torments of a wretched fate ;
 Deluded, listening to the tales they told,
 Lands rich in mines and rivers streaming gold ;
 Whence twelve short years, In luxury's lap beguiled,
 Would bear me homeward, Fortune's favorite child ;
 To pass my days in some secure retreat,
 Or grace the mazes of St. James' Street."

"But to get back to the subject of recruits for the Company's Army. How they fared after they joined is told by an educated lad who was drafted to Bombay. There could have been little difference in the treatment of those who went to Bombay or to Bengal. There was the same story of callous neglect, and debasement in 1817 as many detachments coming from England to India experienced in 1917. In spite of the difficulties in finding and training men once they were in military hands they were too often treated as if trained soldiers were not worth a penny a thousand.

J. H. Stocqueler, a young lad of good middle class family, was at the age of 16, badly stage-struck, a complaint that seems as devastating to prospects of a comfortable old age as racing. He suddenly became smitten with the idea of being a soldier, preferring the prospect of a cadetship with hopes of "striding over heaps of slain" to "knocking down pepper and betel-nut to the highest bidders." "If there was a chance of war with somebody—anybody in fact—the cadetship did not seem such an undesirable affair."

After being told that he was to have it he "began to read all about Clive and the Black Hole, Hyder Ali and Tipoo Sahib, and to find out the places in the map which had been rendered famous by Coote and Lawrence, Wellesley, Stuart, Harris, and Lake."

The cadetship did not materialise "but the mischief was done. There was much consternation in the household . . . My parent wept ; there was nothing of the Spartan in her composition. The cook was vexed—"She couldn't abear the Army." The housemaid was dismally prophetic—"She never knew no good of them Hinjies. Her cousin, Jim Stiles had come home and left his liver behind him." As for myself, I had mentally taken the *sacramentum militare*, and exultingly, sung, like the Troubadour—"Bruland d'amour et partant pour la guerre." The trumpet (figuratively) called me to the field. Once more I forsook the maternal mansion. I had heard of battles, and I longed to follow to the field any officer competent to lead me."

That was about the year 1817 and in much of what he subsequently describes it could, have happened in 1880.

"Arriving at the depot at Chatham just as the whole of the recruits for the season had been drafted off to India, I stood alone on the parade-ground—no one to command me. My forlorn condition attracted the attention of a charitable milkman, who asked what he could do for me. I told him what had brought me down. "Oh", said he, "then you'd better go to the Sergeant-Major Juneau and report yourself. And, look here—when you get your regimentals, I'll buy your clothes off you, as you're not allowed to wear them here, and if you've got a watch or rings, I'll give you the best price you can get—s'elp me."

"It was an advantage to be alone. The staff sergeants, having no one else to drill, obligingly placed themselves at my disposal, and I soon got through as many of the rudiments as could be acquired in so isolated a position. The result was that when a squad of ragged rascals arrived—to compare whom to Falstaff's scarecrows would be to libel the latter—I was promoted to N. C. rank, and appointed to drill them. Pass we over the six months wasted in playing at soldiers.

"In that time I had reached the highest rank that could be attained under the circumstances, and became acquainted with strange vicissitudes of men's fortunes which led them to embrace a soldier's life. The Irish were the most numerous of the recruits. They were divided into two classes—Irish gentlemen, and gentlemen from Ireland. The former numbered amongst them bankrupt solicitors or post-office clerks (according to their own account) ; the latter were fine specimens of the bog-trotting community. The Scotch were not numerous. My dear countrymen, the English, had for the most part either escaped incarceration in penitentiaries, or had served their time in those asylums for the depressed. The E. I. Company was not a popular service at the time, and the recruiting officers were glad to get any one into their net who wanted a livelihood and had a faith in placards,—when they could read them. At the end of six months, we were five hundred strong. To make room in the barracks, and to get us of harm's way while an election was going on, one hundred men were sent under my charge to Tilbury Fort. The fort-major (Kelly) had two fine boys, and he asked me to teach them all I knew while we remained in the fort. This laid the foundation of a friendship which has lasted to the present hour. Colonel Thos. Kelly, late of the 4th,

and Colonel Edward Kelly, late of the 3rd Buffs and the Essex Militia, are, with the exception of a retired Bombay general and ex-advocate-general of Bombay, the oldest of my surviving contemporaries.

There was another episode in my Chatham life which I cannot pass over *sub silentio*. One of my mother's brothers was a clerk in the Navy pay-office, in which also was employed John Dickens, the father of our great novelist. My uncle constantly invited me to spend Sunday at his house at Rochester, and there I met Charles Dickens, then a boy of eight or nine years of age. He was an observant lad, full of quaint humor even then. We had many pleasant walks after dinner and desert, and our chief haunts were Rochester Bridge and the Chatham barrack-yard. Dickens loved to look upon the ruins of Rochester castle, then, as now, a picturesque object, and he took pleasure in watching the troops on the Chatham parade. May we not date from those youthful experiences and impressions the passion of Mr. Pickwick for the view from the bridge, and the conception of the scenes in which Mr. Winkle and Dr. Slammer played such conspicuous parts?

From Tilbury Fort our detachment embarked in the Lowther Castle, Indiaman, for Bombay. I had never been to sea in my life. The first impressions of the affair were anything but favourable, and I am free to confess that time and experience have not improved the acquaintance. I have sailed a hundred thousand miles in my time, and never escaped *maladie de mer* at the commencement of a voyage. As I could not comprehend their emotions, I always despised the men who sang the praises of "a life on the ocean wave." Lord Byron was ecstatic over the waters. The "glad waters of the dark-blue sea" seemed to excite his sympathies to an extraordinary degree. Lesser minstrels, too, have sung the pseudo-charms of "the sea, the sea, the open sea," and I have heard an idiot enthusiastic over the supposition that he was in a ship. "I'm afloat, I am afloat," he bawled to an admiring crowd. To be sure he was ashore all the time, which may have excused his singular earnestness. The sea! Old Ocean is a treacherous friend and a very dangerous enemy. While calm and unmoved, he presents a glorious expanse, tempting mortals to their destruction; but a slight provocation from the winds ruffles his temper, and if old Boreas takes into his head to bluster, the rage of Oceanus is ungovernable. What a maw he has for ships and sailors! And when his appetite is satiated with those delicacies, or he is in too great a rage to swallow at all, how spitefully and recklessly he dashes barques and mariners on flinty rocks and sands! But the sea has its uses after all, and that's its best apology. One could forgive almost anything in an element which produces the succulent turbot, and tender sole, and the delicious shad.

And now I was embarked for Bombay with one hundred articles of 'food for powder'. It was an awful responsibility for a youth of nineteen, who had never been on board a ship, and had no officer with him. Most of the men were happily well disposed towards 'fat Jack of the bone-house', as they complimentarily denoted my slim proportions; and for the benefit of the ill-disposed I had an old volume of the Mutiny Act and Articles of War, replete with threats of "death or such other punishment as by a court-martial shall be awarded."

Gods! shall I ever forget the miseries of the voyage in the Lowther Castle? Half a century has passed away, and still I can recall the dark recesses of the deck, the filth, the nausea, the corroding indolence, the vile salt junk, the watered scum, the coarse ribaldry of the sailors, the apprehensions founded on the ignorance when squalls caused lurches, the screams of the poor women, the evidences of scurvy—oh, if Dante wanted another canto for the Inferno, there was the material ready made to his hand. Before I embarked I had dreamt of the trade winds and the smooth seas, and looked forward with some degree of pride to following the track of Vasco de Gama and Albuquerque to the Malabar Coast; but all this vanished with the first aspect of the murky den into which the poor soldiers were bundled with the hearty anathemas of the brutal seamen.

The Lowther Castle was commanded by a Captain Mortlock, a grave, pious gentleman, an able navigator, and a brave man. One incident illustrated his moral courage. There was mutiny in the ship after we had crossed the line. A sailor had struck the fifth mate, a mere youth named Prettiman. The man was put in irons, and a court-martial ordered to assemble. He was tried, and sentenced to receive three dozen lashes from the boatswain's cat. The ship's company, headed by a smart youngman, captain of the main top, who rejoiced in the soubriquet of "Happy Jack", resolved unanimously that the offender should not be flogged. Mortlock heard of the disloyal intention. Nothing daunted, at six bells (3 P.M.) he caused all hands to be piped, and the prisoner to be brought on the quarter-deck, where the hatchway gratings had been previously made fast to the main shrouds resting against the bulwark. All the military recruits looking in their duck frocks, caps and trowsers, like so many millers, were placed (without ammunition) on the poop, and muskets (without flints or bayonets) were handed up to them through the sky-light. They were sixty in number. The captain's injunctions to me were that the men were not on any account to fire—a needless precaution, seeing that the pieces were not loaded, and half the boys had never once in their lives handled Brown Bess. Recruits were sent off in those days before they had received musket-drill. Mortlock himself came on deck with the MS. proceedings of the court-martial in one hand, and a pistol in the other. The passengers and officers were armed with those formidable rapiers which resembled skewers, vainly striving to become spits. The captain read the details of the trial. The outrage that had been perpetrated could only be atoned by the dorsal blood of the offender. Discipline must be upheld. "Boatswain, do your duty!" At these words, "Happy Jack," who headed the crew assembled in the waist, stepped forward, clasp-knife open, to cut the lanyards which made fast the prisoner. Not a word escaped the lips of a single soul. It was an anxious moment. Mortlock raised his pistol, and the craven Jack relinquished his desperate intention. He slunk back, and the whole of his followers, who had worked themselves up to a wonderful pitch of determination, 'caved in'. The sentence was carried out.

With inexpressible joy the detachment saw the outline of the ghauts on the morning of the 29th May, 1819, and on the evening of the same day, all

the ships of the fleet came in sight within an hour of each other, and anchored in Bombay harbour. The simultaneous appearance of the ships was a striking illustration of the value of Horsburgh's sailing directions, and of the advantage of correctly adjusting a ship's crew to the tonnage.

A serjeant came off to land the troops very soon after the vessel had cast anchor, and the whole detachment was at once marched to the town barracks.

In conformity with one of the wise provisions of the day, the recruits, emancipated from their dreadful prison ship, were permitted to wander ad libitum through the lanes and bazars of Bombay, before they were marched up to Matoonga. They must have seen a great deal of 'life', and materially accelerated their progress to the grave, in Du garee and Bhendy bazar. However, on the evening of the second or third day, the serjeant in charge of the batch collected the stragglers, and marched them up to their destination. Most of them went barefooted from choice ; they had been accustomed to freedom of foot in their native bogs and highlands, and they saved shoe-leather by the adoption of a 'manner' to which they were 'born'. They were welcomed by the battalion quartered at Matoonga with a supper of potatoes and dried bummelows, accompanied by a large kettle of boiling black tea. "Shure then", said Paddy Driscoll, holding up a bummelow, "a bit of fresh mate is welkin!" The old hands who had been a year in the country, and were by our arrival virtually out of their griffinage, walked around the tables in search of some recruit civilized enough to tell them what had been passing in England in their absence, for they saw no newspaper of any kind in those remote ages.

What imp of darkness had suggested the selection of Matoonga as the head-quarters of a European battalion, is perhaps on the records of the Bombay government ; but his name has not survived as a household word. A more 'dismal swamp' could not have been found on the island. The rains began to fall immediately upon our arrival, and as the cantonment was surrounded by rice-fields the soldiers had the full benefit of the humidity arising from the accumulated waters. To this source of disease was added the existence of a fruit bazar at the back of the barracks, where sodden mangoes, decayed pine-apples, and attenuated plantains, adapted to the slender resources of the men, were retailed without mercy.—The bread served out was of the coarsest flour, and those who could afford to lubricate the article, had access to ghee, and a white substance which was facetiously called 'muska', probably because it was fitted for the palates of muskrats, and no other.

There was scarcely an entire company in the whole battalion fit for duty ; but the hospital was well tenanted. Newly-arrived assistant-surgeons had a fine field for the study of the disorders peculiar to India in the persons of the wretched occupants of the planks and tressels which formed the bedsteads. Liver complaint, diarrhoea, rheumatism, fever, and its natural associate ague, guinea-worm, ruptures, and all the hideous varieties of the most

insidious diseases that can afflict humanity in the absence of a "Contagious" Act of Parliament, poisoned the air of the place, where

"Nature sickened, and each gale was death."

An easy-going old gentleman was the full-surgeon of the battalion and he went his rounds occasionally, attended by a dresser, and the youths who had obtained their diploma by sitting on medicine-chests. The surgeon had rather a summary method of disposing of his miserable patients. "Give him two pills" was the invariable remedy.

"What is the matter with this man?"

"Fever, Sahib."

"Give him two pills. This one?"

"Liver complaint, master."

"Two pills. This man?"

"He dead, master."

"Two pills."

With this facon de parler, the living and the dead were rapidly disposed of, and the cemetery filled accordingly. If a man's martial aspirations were damped by the monotony of life in barracks, it was fairly washed out of him by the eternal bursat.

We were put to gun-drill almost immediately. There were none but smooth-bored pieces then in vogue. I soon got up in the formula now obsolete. 'Number one' sponged; 'two' loaded; 'three' served the vent and primed; 'four' fired; 'five' pointed and commanded; 'six' brought up the cartridges from 'seven', who remained some feet in the rear of the gun in charge of the ammunition. Every morning we worked at that sort of thing, and soon became adepts in the science of gunnery as understood, and practised in those primitive days."

Among the items of Fort William orders during 1819 are the following:—

"The Garrison burial ground in Alipore was consecrated by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta on Tuesday, 9th February, 1819."

"The widow of Lieutenant Ryan of His Majesty's 17th Dragoons was not allowed a pension on account of her abandoned character." (May 15, 1819). They didn't mince matters in those days, apparently.

"The Arabs offered to deliver a European woman, wife of an officer, with her two children." That looks as if the editor of the Calcutta Journal missed a chance of a fine story. One wonders how she became a prisoner in the hands of the Arabs and if she and her children were rescued.

"Kicking and abusing one's life was, it appears in those days, considered a military crime, and tried by courtmartial. On the 6th June 1814 Captain Charles White, of the 66th Foot, was indicted "for conduct scandalous, and highly unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, in shamefully abusing, cruelly beating, kicking and ill using his wife &c. "such conduct being in breach of the articles of word and to the prejudice of good order and military discipline," &c. and Captain White was dismissed the service."

"Captain Bell and Lieutenant Hutchinson of the 87th Foot, were arraigned for fighting "on the banks of the Hooghly," that is, in the most public thoroughfare in Calcutta on the 16th November 1815 ; and this before a non-commissioned officer and two privates of their own regiment."

Apparently many such cases occurred. "We meet with such instances as the following—Officers exposing themselves on the public road in "a state of intoxication and disgraceful indecency ;" of a lieutenant breaking his sword and sending it to the adjutant of his regiment as a grateful present to his successor ; another standing at the gateway of a native city, and while the Rajah was passing calling him by one of the most opprobrious epithets in the native language."

One feature in the courts martial on officers was that when the sentence of dismissal was passed, the ex-officer was not allowed to remain in the country, but shipped off to Europe at once.

By an order dated March 28, 1828 the Canteen System was introduced into the Indian Army. About that time a committee of officers recommended a swimming bath for the men in Fort William. The bath was accordingly built and when it was completed, it was discovered that it was indeed possible to fill it by means of bhisties, but there was no other way of drawing off or of renewing the water. The "East Indian Army and Military Review" complained about this in 1853.

It should be remembered that as recently as 1933 it was discovered that swimming baths in quite big towns in Great Britain never changed the water in their swimming baths, that is, hardly ever—so perhaps Fort William was not so very backward after all.

Under date of June 17, 1819 orders were issued that "All officers who had been permitted to remain at the Presidency until the opening of the river shall now proceed to join their Corps without any delay." which looks as if they were in for a wet journey.

Soldiers did much for the Civil power judging by complaints made in the Calcutta Journal for October 22, 1819. "Merchants would be arrested in the street by soldiers and taken three or four miles out to sit on a Coroner's jury."

"The 17th, Leicestershire Regiment, having been stationed in Fort William since January 24, 1819 marched for Berhampore on December 21st 1920, having lost, during the two years in garrison, 8 officers and 131 men from cholera. On November 4, 1922 the Regiment returned to Calcutta to embark for England after being inspected on November 9 by Major General Dalzell."

According to Miss Emma Roberts, in her *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan*, published in 1935 :—

"In its outward aspect there is no European station in the Mofussil which can bear any comparison with Berhampore The cantonments of Berhampore are well laid out and handsomely built ; the quarters of the officers belonging to the European regiments stationed there being of brick covered with cement, like the *puckha* palaces of Calcutta, and forming uniform

ranges of considerable extent. The grand square, a spacious quadrangle, enclosing an excellent parade ground, is particularly striking ; and stately houses, belonging to civilians and other permanent residents, arise in tasteful and convenient spots in the neighbourhood, giving to the whole station an air of grandeur and importance, not usually found in garrisons, where the pompous array of fortresses and bristling bulwarks is wanting. To contrast with all this beauty and magnificence, and to show the deceitfulness of outward appearances, a large and melancholy arena, filled with monumental stones, gives silent but mournful evidence of the unhealthiness of the atmosphere, and of the grim dominion of Death in the midst of the most lavish productions of nature. Berhampore lies low, and has not been sufficiently drained before its occupation by European troops. Every breath of air which visits it comes over swamps and marshy lands ; it abounds with ditches and stagnant pools, those fruitful sources of malaria, and its too redundant vegetation is rank and noisome."

The total ignorance of rudimentary sanitation which prevailed in those days combined with the unsuitable locality made Berhamopre Cantonments a soldiers' grave. But the fine accommodation provided even for the private men was much appreciated after any military service in England where troops were huddled in fours in wooden cribs in insanitary barracks, or billeted in publichouse cellars. The Duke of Wellington long tried to obtain a bed for each soldier but it was not until 1827 that conditions were changed.

The East India Company were often compelled to offer a bounty which would be large enough to buy a horse. British regiments did the same but however large the bounty may have been, it was practically all stopped and recruits frequently drew no pay for six months. One man told Stocqueler that he had obtained 80 bounties, some of them for as much as £25 before thinking it wise to join the East India Company's army. Yet service in the East Indian Company's regiments attracted men who would never think of joining a marching regiment at home. "They are not a whit less dissipated but are generally more educated, and supply a class better fitted for non-regimental employment than the Home regiments."

It should not be imagined that those who came to India a century or more ago suffered great hardships ; times were hard everywhere ; the absence of ice and punkahs was not felt because few expected such luxuries. The contrast between England and India was not so very great ; both were agricultural countries where people lived primitive lives ; perhaps, so far as sanitation and cleanliness went, the early arrivals must certainly have found Indian villages cleaner and more sanitary than those they left behind them.

Judging by early writers there seemed to be very little grumbling about life in India. They said next to nothing about the heat and endured epidemics with fatalistic philosophy. So they did at Home but the soldier did not have to work so hard as those in England. Industrialism had not then corrupted English social life ; a Bench of Justices would sentence old women to long terms of imprisonment for picking up a few sticks of firewood in a spinney, and children, even before they reached their teens, were

sentenced to death and publicly executed. Life abroad was more free from the merciless ferocity of the law.

Poor men who came out to soldier for indefinite periods, had abandoned all hope of returning to England before they started. During times of peace they spent eighteen hours in bed every day. From 8 A.M., until 6 P.M., they were relieved, if on sentry-go, by sepoy, to avoid the risk of sunstroke. Three gills of proof rum every day were enough to make them half drunk thrice daily, and to add to that, toddy-wallahs retailed toddy round the barrack rooms at 64 glasses to the rupee. Most of the privates preferred to remain in the country for good. They had their Indian wife, and a woman tends to keep a man contented.

The 87th, Prince of Wales's Irish Regiment, (now the Royal Irish Fusiliers), relieved the 17th Foot, having "marched from Cawnpore to Fort William, by the new road, and arrived in that garrison on the 21st of December, a distance of six hundred and sixty miles." That march was started on October 21st. The "New Road" was the Grand Trunk Road which runs from Calcutta right up to the Khyber Pass.

"On the night of the 6th of September 1821, a very alarming fire broke out in the Honorable Company's Dispensary, situated in Calcutta, and surrounded by many valuable houses. As soon as intelligence reached the fort, two captains and ten subalterns with about 300 men immediately marched to the spot, and, by the greatest exertions, prevented the fire from spreading to neighbouring houses. The strictness with which he armed party protected the property of the inhabitants, called forth their admiration, which was followed by the annexed letter from the Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings."

Council Chamber, 17th Sept., 1821.

"MY DEAR SIR,

It is with great satisfaction to me, though no surprise, to learn the zealous and meritorious conduct of the detachment of EIGHTY-SEVENTH, employed in the endeavour to stop the fire last night. As some of the men have suffered in articles of dress, to repair that damage, as well as to reward the activity of the party, the Council has directed that five hundred rupees be paid to you, which you will please to distribute according to your opinion of claims.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) "Hastings."

"Lieut.-Colonel Miller,

"Eighty-Seventh Regiment."

That recognition of damage done to clothing differs from what would have happened later. Men who damaged their clothing by whitewashing barracks, would be told, when asking for compensation, "The Government has ordered you to place whitewash on the walls, not to waste it by spreading it on your clothing, Get out, QUICK!" and out the man had to go.

"This mark of approbation was followed by one to the officers employed, each being presented with a piece of plate." Twelve officers were recognised among them being our old friend John Shipp, then a subaltern in the regiment.

Shipp was apparently the moving spirit as his cup is still cherished by the Royal Irish Fusiliers, (The Faugh-o-Ballaghs).

"A very handsome piece of plate, which is now in the mess, was likewise presented to the above officers by Doctor McWhirter, whose house adjoined the Dispensary, and which was saved by great exertion."

The narrow streets of Calcutta in those days, and the thatched roofs of houses made fires particularly dangerous and we read that the regiment was again thanked for what they did during a fire which took place in April, 1822.

"In 1822 the arrival of regiments from Europe caused the 87th to embark (by wings) in boats for the Upper Provinces, and on the 11th July the right wing sailed for Dinapore, the left following on the 22nd of that month."

"The right wing experienced bad weather and lost a number of boats, by which one serjeant, two drummers, five women, and four children were drowned. On the 19th of August the right wing landed at Dinapore, and the left, on the 25th, having made a very prosperous voyage, not meeting with a single accident in the passage."

"In consequence of the 47th Regiment having embarked at Calcutta for Ava, the 87th left Ghazee pore in boats on the 9th of July, 1824, and reached Berhampore on the 29th of the same month."

"On the 14th January, 1825, the regiment proceeded towards Calcutta to replace the second battalion of the Royals (1st Foot) on its departure for Ava; the left wing moved by land, the right by water, and were reunited on the 29th in Fort William."

"On the 6th of June, 1825, the regiment performed the melancholy duty of attending to the grave the remains of its beloved commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Henry Browne."

On the 5th October, 1825 the 87th embarked for Ava, landing at Rangoon between the 3rd and 10th of November. A year later, (October 22, 1826) the headquarters left Burma for Calcutta, arriving on November 16 and were joined by the rest of the regiment on the 24th of that month. They had lost in Burma nearly 200 officers and men.

"After the return of the regiment from Ava, it was reviewed at Calcutta by General Lord Combermere."

"On the 13th of November, the volunteering re-commenced, and continued, with intervals, to the 27th of December, 1826, during which 259 men turned out, for the 16th Lancers, 13th, 31st, 38th, and 44th regiments, and for the East India Company's service, reducing the regiment in India to 280 men."

The 1st February, 1827, saw the embarkation of "the head-quarters, with nine companies sailed from Calcutta in the free trader "Lord Lynedoch" leaving the remainder to follow in the "Cornwall". They arrived home on June 23rd 1827 after twenty one years abroad, and were stationed at Chatham.

The 87th saw Calcutta again in 1849 having arrived there on April 20 of that year, 58 sergeants, 21 drummers, 50 corporals, and 950 private soldiers. (Historical Records of the 87th Foot).

"In April, 1822, the 44th (East Essex) Regiment moved from Dublin to Chatham, and on the 7th and 8th June following, embarked at Gravesend, under the command of Colonel Morrison, in the Honorable East India Company's ships, "Winchelsea," "Warren Hastings," and "Dorsetshire," for Calcutta. The strength of the regiment consisted of thirty-seven officers and six hundred and thirty-eight non-commissioned officers and men. It was disembarked at Calcutta between the 1st and 20th of November, and marched to Fort William ; here one hundred and ninety volunteers, from corps about to return to England, considerably raised the strength of the regiment, and on the 25th of December it mustered eight hundred and nineteen non-commissioned officers and men, nine casualties having occurred since its arrival."

"On the first of July, 1823, the headquarter division, consisting of five companies, proceeded from Fort William to Dinapore, where it arrived on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of August. Eight men were unfortunately drowned by the upsetting and sinking of nine boats in a storm, while on a passage up the Ganges. On another occasion, on this passage, a fire broke out in the leading boat of the fleet, whilst moored for the night at the bank of the river. The wind blowing down stream, the fire spread rapidly along the line of boats, and besides doing other damage destroyed the whole of the band instruments, and music of twenty years' collecting. The Regiment was, in consequence of this accident, deprived of its band for a year."

"Already the regiment had suffered severely from the climate of India ; at one time seventeen officers were laid up with fever, one major, one captain, and two subalterns died at Calcutta between November, 1822 and June, 1823."

The left wing of the regiment quitted Fort William on the 8th of August and arrived at Dinapore on September 22nd. On the 21st and 22nd April, 1824 it proceeded by water to Calcutta, the remainder of the regiment being stationed at Berhampore. On June 1st the right wing took the place of the other five companies, ordered to Chittagong.

In a foot-note of the Historical Records of the 44th, it is stated, that, "It may not be altogether without interest here to record that there was at this time serving in the regiment an Ensign Edward Gilbert, who had been promoted from the ranks for service during the late war. He died in India in 1824, leaving a widow and an infant daughter ; the latter in course of time married an officer in the Indian Army, but was separated from her husband, and afterwards became celebrated under the assumed name of "Lola Montez."

The right wing of the regiment under command of Captain William Burney (who served for many years in the 44th), embarked at Fort William for Chittagong on the 26th of November, 1824, and the "regiment was altogether on the 17th of December."

In January, 1825 the regiment went by land to Ramree later going towards the Arrakan Hill Tracts. It is curious that no mention seems to be made of the numbers of tigers encountered, for that part of the country swarms with them. Marching through dense jungle until the rains set in, by the end of October, 1825, 147 men had died. "Some idea of the state to which the regiment was reduced may be formed from the circumstances that, of the 427 men mustered with the 44th on the 25th of November, 203 of whom were on the sick list, 117 died before the same day of the preceding month, and 253 of the survivors were in such a condition, that they had to be sent, upon landing, to the General Hospital at Calcutta. 264 men died of disease during 1825.

"A peculiar feature of the malady was the vomiting of disgusting worms, attributable to the worse than inferior quality of flour, and provisions generally, issued as rations on the campaign. This was fully established by the report of a medical board ordered at Calcutta, to inquire into the cause of the excessive mortality amongst the troops employed.

"On the 14th of January, 1826, the regiment proceeded from Fort William to Ghazee pore." After serving two years there, it was five more in Cawnpore leaving that station for Chinsurah. In 1835 the 44th moved to Fort William where it was stationed during the whole of that year and 1836, leaving again for Ghazee pore in January, 1837. "It suffered much from cholera while quartered there, 250 men dying within three months.

It would be outside the bounds of this matter to dwell upon the subsequent disasters that fell upon the regiment but the story makes sad, actually dreadful, reading. One of the officers was Lieut.-Colonel J. Shelton, apparently one of those men who, for obstinacy, could give points to any wild pig in a charge. On May 10th 1845, at Richmond Barracks, Dublin he was killed while riding. When the news of his death was known in the regiment, all the men turned out at eleven o'clock at night to hail the event with cheers. Lady Sale's Journal gives a deal of information about what happened in Cabul during those disgraceful years.

It is curious that although Colonel Shelton had served for forty years starting in the Peninsular in 1808, was in the battles of Roleia and Vimiera, in the retreat at Corunna, present at the siege and capture of Flushing, was again in the Peninsular at Badajoz, Salamanca, Madrid, retreat from Burgos, and assault and capture of St. Sebastin, at which latter he lost his right arm; then he served in the campaign in Canada in 1814, later going through the campaign in Arrakan, and later with the ill-fated force in Afghanistan, yet he went to his grave without a decoration—the war medals for the Peninsular and India not having at that time been granted."

(Historical Record of the Forty-Fourth, or the East Essex Regiment).

That must have been only partially correct for we read :—

"A great number of Waterloo Medals have been recently received at the Commander-in-Chief's Office from England, for the Officers and men of the 3rd Battalion of the 14th Regiment, who were present and survived, the Battle of Waterloo. The 3rd Battalion having been reduced on the restoration of Peace, many of the Officers and men were sent out to the 1st Battalion of that Regiment now in the Upper Provinces, and to whom the medals in question are to be distributed. They were forwarded to Cawnpore on Saturday last. They are made of silver, and exceedingly well executed. On one side is the head of the Prince surrounded by the words GEORGE P. REGENT. On the other side a winged figure is represented sitting, with branches of olive and laurel in her hands. Above is written "WELLINGTON" and beneath "WATERLOO" 18th of June, 1815." On the outer edge of the medal, which is very thick, the name of the Officer or Private, to whom it is awarded, is deeply cut. The medal is about the size of a half-crown piece, and is to be suspended from a red ribbon fastened on the left breast."

February 20, 1917.

"The 13th, First Somerset, or The Prince Albert's Regiment of Light Infantry," relieved the 44th, landing in May, 1823 at Calcutta "where it received 620 volunteers from corps about to return to England."

The "Somersets" remained in Fort William until the 5th April 1824 when it embarked for service in Burma, arriving at Rangoon on May 10.

The list of distinguished officers who served in this regiment is remarkable, Robert H. Sale, William H. Dennie, Henry Havelock and Devid Ratray, among many others. Havelock, then a most religious man who could enjoy feeling the flames of hell under his feet, was said to have celebrated the capture of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon by going into some hole in the building with a number of privates, "Havelock's Saints" to hold a prayer meeting. Later in his service, he was known as "Old Khubbardar," owing to his habit of putting things off so that he could pour out his soul in prayer over them. Men at the time said that had he been in full command during the Mutiny, it would have taken fifty years to quell it.

As it was intended to send the regiment to Burma the usual slapdash inconsideration which leads so many military minds to believe they can make six seeds grow much faster than one took hold of those warriors who consider an unnecessary casualty list a sign of efficiency. This is what a writer thought when putting down his recollections.

"The judicious commanding officer will see that the harder duties are performed by the older and more seasoned soldiers, and will have the young soldier taught his duties in a regular and progressive way. "Dr. Mouat, senior, thus expressed himself—"Nearly a third of the recruits of the 13th L.I., were in the general hospital, from having been drilled three times a day, with the

view of perfecting them quickly for service." *East India Army Magazine and Military Review*, No. 111, 1853 (page 505).

The drill sergeant was not the only enemy of recruits. There appears to have been nobody to take the slightest interest in them when they landed in the country.

"As long as recruits were sent to the Fort, there was a very great neglect of their comfort, and when the troops were once handed over to the Fort authorities, their own officers seldom saw them again, and what was everyman's business became no-one's. They were often huddled together in the most unsuitable places, with deficient bed-clothing—sometimes for the first nights without beds to lie on. Recruits are now sent to Chinsurah or Dum Dum, where they are somewhat better taken care of; but their officers trouble their heads as little as may be about their men, and are, as often as they can, away from the depot." *East India Army Magazine*, April, 1853, p. 180.

But there was trouble for the recruit even before he landed at Chandpal Ghat. After a voyage that might last the better part of a year, in which he often existed in one ragged suit of clothes, he took on other risks.

"One of the first evils to be guarded against is excessive eating of vegetables and fruit. Anyone who has arrived at the Sandheads and seen a native boat come off to the vessel, loaded with fruit and vegetables, and seen the quantities of unripe plantains, indigestible cocoa-nut kernel, and pineapple fibre that pass down the gullet of the unfortunate soldier or sailor, who has been four or five months on salt provisions, can readily imagine this sudden change from want of vegetable diet, to the greatest excess in it, to be a fruitful cause of disease. That the recruit almost always finds his way to the bazaar, and half poisons himself with Hell-fire and the like, is also a matter of familiar remark." *East India Army Magazine*, April, 1853, pp. 179-180.

The first Burmese campaign was a ghastly affair for British troops. Sir John Fortescue tells of a Burmese "Napoleon" who "allowed the British to land at Rangoon, and then swept the whole country bare before them so that they could not move. They had to sit still, for want of transport, eat salt rations, and die of fever, scurvy, and dysentery."

"Of 3,500 British soldiers who originally landed at Rangoon, 3,100 perished, not one in twenty of them in action, and of 150 officers there 60 died. Yet such is the good nature of the British soldier that numbers of poor little Burmese girls dressed themselves as men and tried to return with them to India. I rather like the phrase "good nature." The first Burmese War is chiefly memorable for the fact that it was the first in which a steam vessel took part in active operations, and that among the naval officers who served with distinction on the Irrawaddy was Captain Frederick Marryat, the novelist."

The fact is that the Burmese "War" was a "shocking mess-up. The force started without transport; owing to a shortage of cattle in Bengal none were taken, but it is possible that General Head Quarters never thought about

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transport. The Duke of Wellington underestimated the difficulties, for when the British Cabinet asked his advice as to whom would be the fittest general to be sent in command of the expedition. He instantly replied—

"Send Lord Combermere."

"But we have always understood that your Grace thought Lord Combermere a fool?"

"So he is a fool, and a damned fool—but he can take Rangoon."

The Duke of Wellington, who soldiered in Fort William, was not popular with everybody although his name stood high among the rank and file. His enemies said "He had a social contempt for his intellectual equals, and an intellectual contempt for his social equals", which probably meant no more than he had the capacity to read character. Disciplinarian as he was, he protested several times against the leniency of courts-martial in dealing with officers convicted of oppressing Indians. One can see from his letters that he was a capable business man who strove for efficiency in his job, from tackling problems about bullock transport to winning battles.

The mortality among European soldiers in India, although only half of that of the West Indies, was probably four times that of England. "It is curious that this is not the mortality of campaigns generally, but of times of peace. It is by no means certain that the mortality by disease in India is greater than in European campaigns. With the exception of the first Burmah war, there have probably been none in India in which the mortality was so high as in the Peninsular. *Larpent's Journal*, states that the Brigade of Guards had lost half its strength within a year of its landing, that the deaths at head-quarters were at some times 4 and 500 a week, and that the returns of sick showed 19 to 20,000 men in hospital out of about 45,000 men, while official returns show us that the English in Spain lost, from 1811 to 1814, of 61,511 effectives no fewer than 24,930 by disease alone. There is an amount of sickness and mortality in those statements that startles even us in India."

"Dr. Wilmington Walford" relates his experiences in the Burma Expedition of 1824, when "great men shewed how conversant they might be with gallipots and sticking-plasters."

"The miseries of a transport are manifold ; the pleasures of the same conveyance are seldom met with—so seldom, as sometimes to escape notice. If there was any comfort on board the "Fazilbarry" it did not fall to my share. . . . In due time the transport dropped down the river and dismissed her pilot . . . Ten days afterwards she was hove to, making bad weather of it. For five days the "Fazilbarry" made nothing by leeway . . . Just peep into the "sick-bay" and you will come out in two minutes sick enough, and scarcely equal to measly pork and weevily biscuits."

During the storm a watercask carried away among the horses below, and carried away another one which killed many of the animals, who, terrified, broke loose creating pandemonium, but nothing could be done to stop the casks mowing "them down playfully."

"The fleet of transports rendezvoused at Port Cornwallis in the great Andaman Island and after recruiting from the effects of the gale, a fair wind carried them to the Rangoon branch of the Irrawaddy."

"Dr. Wilmington Walford" was knocked over by the climate, with scores of others. "From official records, of the details occurring in four of H. M. regiments within a year of their landing in Burma, 60 were killed in action, 30 died of their wounds, and 1215 died of disease."

"Dr. Walford" goes on to relate—"There was no recruiting of the system amid the bamboo-thickets and rice-fields of the Irrawaddy ; so a medical committee told me I might be off to Bengal, with the next transportation of invalids ; a decision which augured some skill in the committee's side. They did not incur this responsibility without thorough investigation ; for although I presented a cadaverous countenance and sufficiently attenuated limbs, I was forced to enter into cognizances that I had partaken of every preparation in the Pharmacopeia, as possessing or supposed to possess curative properties. I felt I could do so with a clear conscience ; I was the tomb in which a whole laboratory had found a grave, barring the show-bottles in the window. Indeed I was fearful that the committee might discover that these latter had been omitted, and might order them to be taken forthwith ; for on active service a man takes a pill referentially to zeal for the service, and totally irrespective of instinct ; and obedience to superior medical acumen as resulting from seniority, forms a cardinal virtue"

"A few days more found me in possession of "room for swinging," on board of a little brig the cargo of which I never exactly discovered, but which I have always thought must have been cockroaches, those highly interesting insects were so numerous."

"The Tinker" was crowded ; a large party of invalids in charge of a cross old son of Esculapius being in medical charge whose entire medical experience was limited to that interesting department of therapeutic matters, to which the adjective "drastic" applies closely. He was a stickler for military obedience and thought a pill should pay respect to an order from a senior. In accordance with this principle, so becomingly laid down by Surgeon Swiveleye, the invalids led what is usually denominated "a dog's life," a state of being well understood by charity boys, ensign's servants, tutors, and governesses."

"Under his care, and notwithstanding the sea air, the invalids were marvellously slow in gaining flesh and strength. His mortification was much increased by my refusal to be physicked, and the singular fact that I improved rapidly in consequence. Dr. Swiveleye signified disapprobation at this result, and imbibed a great hatred towards my increasing corporation ; the evil thought occurred to him that, in conformity with hints from me, the apothecaries nullified his prescriptions by injurious and acrid additions of their own, given for the sheer purpose of injuring his professional repute It never struck him that ten-grain doses of calomel, croton oil, colocynth, gamboge, &c., possessed but a very limited amount of nourishment at least. In an unfortunately facetious moment I ventured to make a calculation of

the effect of a bagful of pills administered to the Burmese by a nine inch howitzer, and submitted it to the consideration of Surgeon Swiveley, who, petrified at my daring irreverence towards seniority, desired me to consider myself under arrest ; indeed he went so far as to request the officer in command to place a sentry over me with a bayonet fixed, to take care that I did not break arrest by walking overboard, an amount of caution which the latter did not think necessary."

"Dr. Walford" eventually returned to Fort William and was granted three months' leave.

From all of which one can gather that if officers were fed and treated like that, the condition of the rank and file must have been lamentable in the extreme in those good old days.

If Peace has her victories she also has her senseless tragedies as the story of the 13th, First Somerset, (or the Prince of Albert's Regiment of Light Infantry) discovered on their arrival back at Calcutta.

"After arduous service in Burma where the regiment left Rangoon on March 23rd, 1826 and arrived at Calcutta in the middle of April where it remained for a few days before proceeding to Berhampore.

"Owing to the rivers not permitting the passage of boats farther than Nuddea, the men were disembarked and ordered to march the rest of the journey. The following extract will show what happened.

"We cannot give a better instance of an ill-conducted march than the following, and there seems to have been no excuse for it, for it was in the plains of Bengal, in the immediate vicinity of head-quarters. After their return from Burmah, H. M. 13th Light Infantry was ordered to Berhampore ; they started in boats—"Head-quarters disembarked at Nuddea on the 3rd of May at Midnight, and immediately marched for their camp, said to be 14 miles distant. The night was excessively hot and sultry, and the recruits who were nearly half our number, soon began to knock up. The men were encouraged in every way to push on, so as to be under cover by sunrise. But after daylight the sun became over-powering, we had to encounter a hot wind, and found that the march was 21 instead of 14 miles. The consequence was that the head of the column did not reach till nine o'clock, and the rear then extended for many miles over an open country. About eight o'clock a most melancholy scene commenced—the men began to call out to the bheesties "panee" "panee" and some were seen to drop down and instantly expire. The day ended with the loss of no fewer than 18 lives by COUP DE SOLEIL, all recruits and 63 men in Hospital."

"But to turn from this painful picture, it would be easy to show what marches seasoned troops may undergo with impunity. For instances of this we have only to look at the page of history and see how India was won. We take this at random of General Wellesley's in 1804. "This was the greatest exertion I ever saw troops make in any country. The 74th and 2nd battalions of sepoys were in the attack, although we marched 60 miles between the morning of the 4th and twelve o'clock at noon of the 5th February, and yet I halted from

noon till eight at night of the 4th." It is quite astonishing what fatigues men can undergo when under the influence of the excitement of going to meet an enemy. One of the best, steady, continuous marches of late years, in the hot season, that we have heard of, was of H. M'S 39th going to quell an insurrection in Canara. In this instance 220 men of the 39th marched in the month of April to Canara, going 195 miles in nine days, without a casualty." *East India Army Magazine and Military Review*, Vol: 1, 1853, (pages 506 & 507.)

The 13th Foot were relieved in Fort William by the 2nd Battalion, the 1st Foot, (Royal Scots.) who arrived from Fort George, Madras, 1824. Their history just mentions that they moved to Barrackpore to suppress the Mutiny there, and returned to Calcutta immediately afterwards. The Royal Scots embarked for Burma in January 1825.

The 47th (Lancashire) regiment were in Fort William simultaneously with the 13th Foot embarking for Rangoon in December 1824. While serving in the Fort, discontent broke out among the sepoys of the 47th Bengal Infantry in Barrackpore, which was handled by the authorities in so shameful a manner that it is best to refrain from relating the details now.

"Dr. Wilmington Walford," was present at the final tragedy, and accounts of what happened can be found in Captain Rafter's "Our Anglo-Indian Army" also in the records of the 47th (Lancashire Regiment.)

In the good old days which, it is to be hoped, will never return, soldiers, British and Indian had to pay for their own transport. If a married man with two children (and soldiers married then, in India,) found his regiment under orders for change of stations, he would be compelled to hire a hackery. A three bullock hackery, then considered necessary for the bad tracks that had to be traversed, would cost no less than Rs. 1. 4 per day—a ruinous sum for a soldier to pay. One reads:—"Married Artillery recruits have joined their companies at Peshawar (from Dum Dum) for the first time, overwhelmed with debt, contracted by the necessary expense of carriage."

In spite of the disgust caused by the paltry meanness with which the soldier was treated, it was not until February, 1846 that a General Order was issued to the effect that the European soldier's kit was to be carried at the public expense. Lord Hardinge, in what was said to be the "best act of Lord Ellenborough's Administration," carried that through, and also established "the Sanatorium of Dugshae and the Barracks for European Artillery at Subathu."

"We presume that the gallant Lord Gough referred to this boon when in a parting speech at his own hospitable table the night before Lord Hardinge left Simla he observed,—"The noble Lord (Hardinge) had done much for the army; both for the living and the dead—he had made both more comfortable." *Calcutta Review* Vol. VIII (1847) p. 535.

The Times of October 1. 1829 contained an interesting item of news about the 47th Regiment.

"Yesterday the 47th Regiment of Foot, about 300 strong, under the command of Colonel Allington, marched into this town from Chatham, en route to the Isle of Wight. The regiment landed at Gravesend a week ago from India,

where it had been stationed 25 years..... A considerable portion of the regiment is now composed of convicts, whose terms of transportation at Van Diemen's land having expired, they have enlisted, recruiting parties being constantly stationed at Sydney for that purpose. We understand that this way of reinforcing the regiments in India is very general." *Maidstone Journal*.

It should be remembered that soldiers serving in India, who remained perhaps eight or more years in one place, fed up with boredom, committed offences with the object of being transported. And transportation, in many respects was little more than enforced emigration although the authorities did all they could to further debase the unhappy men, women and children on whom dire misfortune had fallen. The disposal of malefactors had long been a puzzle for we are told—

In 1787 it was proposed and discussed in the Privy Council whether English convicts on route to Botany Bay should not be sold to the Bey of Tunis as slaves. Had this been carried out they would not have been lonely for many English were prisoners of pirates in Tunis and other parts of North Africa.

The 31st (Huntingdonshire) Regiment relieved the 87th Foot in the Fort. The right wing embarked at Gravesend on February 7, 1825, in the "Kent" East Indiaman, for Calcutta. With 637 people on board the ship caught fire on March 1st in the Bay of Biscay in a gale. Although great efforts were made at rescue, 68 men, 1 woman, and 21 children lost their lives. The report concluded with—"It may not be amiss to state that, two hours after the ship blew up, a soldier's wife was delivered of a fine boy on board the Cambria, (the rescuing ship) and both mother and child are doing well."

The left wing travelling in the Scaleby Castle landed at Calcutta on June 21st 1825, but were sent direct to Berhampore arriving on July 2nd.

"On September 21st 1825 part of the regiment left Berhampore by boat and marched into barracks in the Fort on September 27th being joined by headquarters on November 17. After the burning of the "Kent" they had eventually left England on June 21st 1825.

In November cholera broke out and as it did not abate the regiment went into camp on the south glacis of the Fort. On February 13, 1826 the regiment, 39 officers, 50 sergeants, 17 drummers, 48 corporals and 812 privates, left by boat for Dinapore "where they were again attacked by cholera losing a large number of men who were reported to have died with extraordinary rapidity."

In 1846 the 31st Regiment, having completed their service in India left Umballa in April and at the end of July, deposited their arms in Fort William Arsenal. It must have been an extremely hot journey as the highest temperatures prevail in April. In Calcutta they joined the 16th Lancers, also homeward bound, and the "officers of the Presidency entertained the officers of both regiments in honour of their great achievements in the campaign on the Sutlej; the officers at Dum Dum did the same and the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Herbert Maddox gave them a splendid banquet on the 1st August 1846.

The 31st left Calcutta on August 3, 9 officers 215 rank and file, 10 women and 10 children, and reached Home four months later.

The 47th Regiment after service in Burma were in garrison in Fort William from April 24, 1826 until January 23, 1827.

Eight days before they left (on January 15, 1827, the 14th Foot, now the West Yorkshire Regiment) came to take their place.

"The 14th Regiment left Meerut in October 1826; it subsequently embarked in boats, and, after a tedious passage down the river Ganges, arrived at Fort William in the beginning of 1827: and was stationed at that fortress twelve months.

"Early in 1828 (January 15th) the regiment quitted Fort William, and proceeded to the cantonment at Berhampore, where it was stationed during the year 1829.

"After performing the important duty of guarding the colonial possessions of Great Britain in India twenty-three years, the FOURTEENTH Regiment received orders to return to England; it left Berhampore in November, 1830 and proceeded to Fort William; the men who volunteered to remain in India were transferred to other corps; and in December 1830, and January 1831, it embarked from Calcutta for England. It landed at Gravesend in May and July and was stationed at Chatham until September."

(Historical Record of the FOURTEENTH, or The Buckinghamshire Regiment of Foot.)

Except for the bare statement that the 59th, (2nd Nottinghamshire, now the 2nd East Lancshires), Regiment was in garrison during 1828 nothing is at hand to dwell upon. They served in Java as the names of one or two officers are recorded on the monument in Government House compound Barrackpore. The same applies to the 16th (Buckinghamshire), now the Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Regiment who arrived at Fort William in January 1829 and remained there until March 1831 when they moved to Chinsurah. Very severe outbreaks of cholera attacked the regiment while there, and one reads of complaints from the men of the lack of facilities for holding prayer meetings. It is unfortunate that so little news is available but when even writers of biography in those days thought it fit and proper to describe a regiment as the "—th," it makes ordinary searchers into history half inclined to give up the hobby.

The 16th eventually went to Dinapore where they remained until October, 1840 "when they were relieved by a wing of the 21st Fusiliers, and embarked for the Presidency where they arrived on November 4 They sailed from Calcutta for England in December, 1840.

One of the officers of the 16th certainly left a name behind him. Mr. C. Grey now living at Lahore wrote a fine book on "European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785 to 1840" which Mr. H. L. O. Carrett, M.A., Keeper of Records of the Panjab, edited. It is a book well worth reading, far better than a novel, giving as it does, stories, almost incredible, of men who carved

their way to fortune with their lives in their hands almost every hour of the day.

I take the liberty of quoting from page 327 of Mr. Grey's book, the following—

"Matthew Ford entered the British service as an ensign in a West India Regiment in 1804, and served successively in the 7th Foot, the 70th Foot, the 1st Royal Scots, and the 22nd Light Dragoons, and being still a captain, was, in 1823, appointed paymaster to the 16th Foot, then serving in India.

"The position of paymaster was usually sought after by poor men who could not purchase further steps, and the holder was exempt from retirement on account of age or minor ailments. Ford served in the 16th Foot until 1837, when apparently having got his accounts into an inextricable mess, and being short of Rs. 43,000, he deserted from Karnal, and crossed the Sutlej. A subsequent enquiry disclosed the fact of this sum being missing, so Ford was tried by court-martial and in default sentenced to be cashiered from the army, and to suffer a term of imprisonment".

Ford obtained employment with Maharajah Ranjit Singh as a battalion commander on Rs. 800 a month. He was a bit of a fireater, stout and bad tempered. To again quote Mr. Grey—

"His fate is told by the following extract :—

"8th April, 1841,—Major Ford, late of Her Majesty's 16th Foot, has been attacked by the battalion he commanded in the Hazara country. He was rescued by some Gurkhas led by Colonel Steinbach, who was in the vicinity, but his injuries were very severe and he died the next day."

The crime of desertion has always been more common than is generally supposed. The aphorism—None travel so far as he who doesn't know where he is going," must have been discovered a thousand times by men who deserted in India, Java, Sumatra, Burma, and Ceylon. In 1873 men deserted even in places like Ashantee, but what good they could ever expect to derive from running away there defeats imagination.

Mr. C. Grey, writes about a soldier of the 8th Dragoons, who, having been struck by an officer, knocked him down with his carbine and deserted,—“We may imagine the sensation caused by this wandering Feringhi soldier, as fully armed and mounted, he drifted in his once-gorgeous, but now time-stained, uniform, through the quiet mud-walled villages of the plains, and the stone huts of the hills, in the hope of finding employment, or at least subsistence, and especially anxious to place as wide a distance as possible between himself and that army, where an inevitable death awaited him. Like so many Feringhi wanderers at that date, he was hospitably treated, if not welcomed, for those were the days when Europeans of low degree could pass unharmed through even the wildest districts of India or Asia. It was not until the first Afghan War had destroyed trust in British honour and good faith that northern India became unsafe for the solitary European.” But it is also fairly safe to assume that the bad manners of Europeans of low degree also had something to do with that hostility.

Herbert Compton also writes about deserters who attained some eminence in Indian history, but there must have been thousands unwritten and unwept, who could tell a story. In 1792 there were 4000 English in Canton, mostly deserters from ships, which gives some idea of the number of vagabonds roaming abroad.

The Calcutta Gazette, has this to say about them—

"As to the Europeans who run from their national colours and enter into the service of the country powers, I have heard one of the best officers the Company ever had in command of the Madras army, say that he considered them no otherways than so many Sepoys ; for acting under blacks, they become mere blacks in spirit, and almost complexion, from the dirty naked manner in which they live for want of officers to make them do their duty and keep themselves clean ; and so restless and discontented are they at all places, and in all times, that they are for ever shifting from colours to colours. I could give three or four instances of the whole body of Europeans throwing down their arms in action, on their black master's army beginning to give way. Governor Law, with 400 Frenchmen, surrendered to General Camac, when he beat the Mogul's army in Bengal, almost without a blow, Hyder Ally calls them his hogs ; and his officers treat them with the utmost contempt. Latterly, indeed, he has formed a corps of artillery, from the various people of various nations of Europeans who have offered their services to him ; but he will not trust them out of his sight ; and has the art to play the renegadoes of one nation against those of another, in such a manner, as to make them all suspicious of one another, and afraid of him". (Selections from Calcutta Gazettes, Vol. V, p. 663.

In India, when a man drops to the gutter, the load of the climate is always too much for him.

"The Englishman" of January 16, 1838, under the heading of "A Deserter's Plight". tells this story,—

A deserter from one of H. M.'s Regiments stationed at Maulmein is said to lead a precious life of it at the Court of Ava, for the amusement of the King and his courtiers. This half starved and half naked individual is made to go through the manual and platoon exercise to the sound of a drum, and receives more kicks than halfpence for his reward. On remonstrating one day against the treatment he received, he was kicked out of the house by one of the King's sons, and told he was a liar, "as all Englishmen are." This man has been seen running behind in the train of a petty officer, to whom he is attached as a slave, with a musket on his shoulder."

The same paper, of August 23, 1838 has more to say about these run-aways :—

"We have learnt with regret that three soldiers of H. M. 62nd Regiment have deserted from their colours during the week and crossed over to Martaban. It is really wonderful that men should be so lost to all sense of honour, or love of country, as to make up their minds to subject themselves to the ignominy, insult, contumely, and neglect which they are sure to meet with

among the Burmese. They doom themselves to ceaseless misery and wretchedness. They become abject slaves licking the very feet of those in authority, either to evade punishment or to crave the means of keeping body and soul together. We have ourselves seen such men, and had we not seen them, we could never have believed that the spirit of a Briton could be so crushed and degraded as their's appears to be. Dressed as a common Burmese coolie, with nothing but an old cloth round the loins, we have seen them on their knees before a petty jack in office, with their hands in an attitude of supplication. The sight was sickening! It may be the idea is entertained that the Burmese are glad to get hold of English soldiers, in order to instruct their own, and perhaps, lead them in battle. Never was any idea more unfounded. If employed at all by the Government, and we are not aware of any instance of it, it is without pay, without provisions or clothing, for which they must be indebted to charity, or starve. They are despised, both as traitors and as useless lumber, and the bamboo soon brings their spirit down to the level of the country."

It is not difficult to envisage the thoughts of those barrack-room lawyers and habitual discontents when undergoing such bitter experiences. It seems a pity that such men could not be taken back to their regiments so that their comrades could know what happened to those who thought anything better than the life they were leading. But such men are impossible to reclaim and not worth the trouble, for chronic discontent, like meanness, is ineradicable.

Apparently all deserters are not necessarily bad soldiers as the following story will prove—

Private William Douglas of the Tenth Royal Hussars who served in that regiment at Kirkee between 1846 and 1854 in his book "soldiering in Sunshine and Storm," relates,

"What a power there is in that magic word 'Home!' 'Even in that far off foreign land, I have known men to desert, sans money, sans clothes, sans everything, and with the dreary prospect of walking all the way to Madras or Calcutta, not by road—for there they ran the chance of being retaken and brought back—but by unfrequented tracks, through jungles, over mountains, and across rivers, where famine, wild beasts, fever, and cholera, beset their path, depending only on the natives for a mouthful of rice and a drink of water; upon those who, were they but to touch a cooking utensil of theirs, would break it into pieces. Yet in spite of all these dangers, would men desert, and getting clear away, never be heard of again. Whether they accomplished their object of getting home, or whether their bones are lying whitening in the jungle, never was known. This practice was not confined to our regiment; every regiment in the country had many who contrived to escape and never came back; some, of course, failed, like Taylor of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, who made two daring attempts—the second time not even hesitating at murder in trying to accomplish his object. His first attempt was well planned, and would have succeeded, but for an accident. His regiment was lying at Poonah, and he, with nine others, agreed to desert, beginning to lay their plans twelve months before they meant to carry them

into execution. The first thing they did was to hire a bungalow in the city ; and four of them being tailors, a suit of sailor's clothes was made for each. Taylor having been bred to the sea, understood navigation, and among other accomplishments could talk French fluently ; so he was appointed captain of the party. When all things were ready, and each had saved a good sum of money, one of the party applied for a month's leave to Bombay, which was granted. He, however only proceeded as far as Panwell, where he hired a house for a week, and engaged a large boat on the pretence of making a pleasure trip to the island of Elephanta ; and being dressed in a suit of civilian's clothes, he had no difficulty in managing all this. The others, with Taylor, who, as I have said, had been chosen captain, had the audacity to desert in complete marching order, with muskets and side arms ; Taylor having a sergeant's stripes on, and his next in command corporal's stripes ; and so dressed and accoutred, they marched down the road to Panwell without being questioned, because whoever they met supposed them to be on duty. They reached their destination at night, after being only two days on the road and were met outside the village by their comrade, who guided them to the bungalow he had hired for their reception, and there they all put on their sailor's clothes. The next day they made every preparation on board their boat—laid in a month's provisions, fresh water &c. and when all was ready, lost no time in starting, and, getting a fair wind, were in a few days far from Bombay. They had previously agreed upon a story to relate to any vessel they might come across, and Taylor used to catechise them daily in this tale, besides teaching them a number of nautical terms and phrases, and the names of the ropes, halliards, bowlines, &c., on board a ship. In this manner they passed the time, until they reached Goa, the Portugese settlement on the coast, and there put in. Taylor asked to see the governor, and to him made a statement that he was the captain of an American schooner, named the *Chloe*, belonging to New York, that he had sailed last from Kurrachee, with a cargo for Madras, that the night previously he had been run into by a large ship, that he had barely time to escape with his crew into the boat when the vessel sank, and that he saw no more of the ship which had run him down, and so bore up for Goa, being the nearest port. The governor believed all this, and treated him and his supposed crew with great kindness, and gave them every help that lay in his power. After this assistance they sailed for Pondicherry, and relating the same tale again, were also remarkably well treated there, Taylor's knowledge of French proving of great service. A jealousy however, broke out at this place between the crew and their captain, on account of his being invited to the governor's table, while they were regaled in the kitchen ; one man in particular, threatening to see the governor and expose the whole affair, Taylor replied to the menace by knocking the fellow down ; and, addressing the others, pointed out to them how necessary it was for both him and them that he could only continue his assumed character, and that he could only do so by keeping them at a distance ; and so that difficulty was at last got over. They reached Madras safely, where they told precisely the same tale, with this exception—that they were bound from Hong Kong to New York, with a cargo of tea, instead of from Kurrachee

to Madras. On landing, Taylor made his report to the American consul, and was again treated better than the others, he living at a hotel, while they were put up at the Sailors' Home. It was while there that some articles of regimental necessaries were discovered on the man whom Taylor had struck ; and as an account of some of the men having deserted from the 1st Bombays had appeared in the papers, they were detained until further inquiries were made. One of their regiment was sent to identify them, and they were all brought back to Poonah, tried for desertion, and sentenced to two years' penal servitude each. On the expiration of this period, Taylor rejoined his regiment, and volunteered from it to the 3d Bombays, which was just being raised. He was shortly after made corporal, and sent to the Central Training School at Poonah, established by Lord Frederick Fitzclarence, but had not been there four months when he and four others again deserted, and again he made for Panwell ; and hiring a boat, proceeded to sea, accompanied by the *tindal*, or owner of the boat, who would not leave it unfortunately, as it afterwards turned out for the poor fellow. They were hotly pursued, and quickly overhauled by a steam tug which followed them from Bombay ; but the *tindal* was not in the boat, nor would they give any account of him. On being brought back they were all delivered over to the civil power, and tried about August 1854, for the murder of the *tindal* ; but of this they were acquitted through some informality, and for want of evidence to prove how he had come by his end. A military tribunal, however, sentenced them to two years' imprisonment each for desertion, Taylor declaring at the time that he would never give up the idea of making his escape until he was successful, or perished in the attempt. His adventures and the cause of them would be thought extraordinary at home ; but out in India they were thought nothing of. Seven years before this time, he had married a young and lovely girl, to whom it appears he was very much attached ; but she proved unfaithful, and deserting him, went to Europe with an officer with whom she was still living. His whole desire was to be revenged ; and he had sworn to allow no obstacle to stand in his path, no danger to deter him from getting to England, no difficulty to hinder him from following his wife and her paramour, until he found them ; and whenever he did find them, to take a signal vengeance. I never heard of him afterwards, but doubtless if alive, he is still persevering."

H. HOBBS.

Activities of the "Old Company" in India (1620-1661) : Several Aspects

"THE London East India Company", incorporated by Elizabeth under the title of "The Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies", "is commonly called the Old Company". "The English Company trading to the East Indies" incorporated by William III on the 5th. of September 1698, is usually known as the New Company. Both were amalgamated in "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies" in 1708-9. "Two other East India Companies had previously to the incorporation of the united Company been merged in the old Company" (1).

During the period under review, there were members of several European nations other than the English, in India the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the Danes. There was also a Genoese attempt to trade in Eastern Waters, and the Spaniard was established in Manilla. I have shown (in detail) elsewhere that all these European nations were actuated by a feeling of European solidarity, which though vague, was discernible at times. Secondly, this feeling that they had bonds in common was strengthened by the contrast which they found between their dress and habits, manners and customs, (very often) religion and colour, and their cultural and social outlooks, with those of the Indians and other Asiatics domiciled in India.

This cosmopolitanism is again perhaps one of the links that joins Ancient Indo-European History, which deals among other things with the contacts of India with Greece and Rome, with Modern Indo-European History. "It was in the East that men had learned", says my revered teacher, Prof. Barker, "to believe in a single universal society, and in the government of that society by a king who was as a god among men (2) and indeed was a very god". "If imperium is a Latin word, the idea of an Empire and of an emperor were not of Latin origin". "The Roman Empire" was almost "Oriental in its origin: we may at any rate affirm that it was Hellenistic: and Hellenistic means the fusion of Greek and Oriental". It was this Roman Empire which, as my other revered teacher Prof. Hearnshaw says (3), gave an "impress of Unity" to Europe. This unity of Europe is reflected in the "Grand Design" which is conceived either during or close to the period under review. This Cosmopolitanism (though in a modified form), I repeat, is again to be found in the relationship of European powers in India, in a

(1) Griggs: *Relics of the Hon. East India Co.* p. 1.

(2) Cf. *lokadhāmnah devasya* of the Allahabad Ins. (Cor. Ins. Ind. Vol. III No. 1).

(3) *Main currents of European History*, p. 15 *et seq.*

marked degree, and thus is a cardinal factor of Modern Indo-European History. The link lies in the origin of the idea.

But another idea—the idea of the unity of history—must not carry us too far. Specialisation holds the modern student in a steel grip. Convenience demands separation of history into periods. But catastrophic changes which need an intensive study justify such a division. The years 1620 and 1661 are important in the history of the activities of the Old Company in relation to other European powers—the activities, with which I propose to deal here.

In July, 1620, the English representative arrived at Patna to trade directly with Bihar, and to a certain extent with Bengal. "The Portingalls", says e.g. a letter from Patna of November 30, 1620, "of late years have had a trade here in Puttana, cominge up with their friggitts from the bottom of Bengalla, where theye have two porttes, th' one called Gollye (4), and th' other Pieppullye" (5). Another cause of a clash with a European power in India thus definitely came into being. In November, the Danes succeeded in gaining the cession of Tranquebar, and they proved to be a strong commercial competitor with the English during this period under review. In December, a Portuguese fleet under Ruy Freire was defeated by the English off Jask. In 1621, the Dutch expelled the English from Bantam. In 1622 Ormus was taken from the Portuguese by the English and the Persians (6).

On 29th. of May, 1660, Charles II entered London. "This day, it is thought", says Pepys, "the King do enter the city of London". "And he no sooner came to Whitehall", says Clarendon, "but the two houses of parliament cast themselves to his feet with all the vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end" (7).

On the 3rd. of April, 1661, Charles freed the Company from the equivocal position in which they had placed themselves by accepting the "Usurper's" charter, "and granted them the Letters Patent", confirming them as a body corporate and politic" (8).

"The era of consolidation", so far as the Company was concerned definitely began. "Under Charles II commerce and industry became the chief emds of foreign policy" (9). In 1661, the marriage treaty with the Portuguese princess was signed. "It's noe matter if we are out, our Royall King", says a letter of 15 Dec. 1661, from Surat, "being marryed to the Infanta of Portugall, and in dowry, besides a vast summe of ready money hath Goa and

(4) Hugli.

(5) Pippli in the dist. of Balasore.

(6) Burgess : *The Chronology of Modern India* p. 77 *et seq*; "A Calendar of Documents in the India office, British Museum and Public Record office. Vol. 1618-1621, and 1622-1623." This work is commonly called "the English Factories in India", I shall refer to it as E. F. later on.

(7) Clarendon : *History of the Rebellion*, (1849 ed.) Vol. VI, p. 264; Smith : *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* p. 35.

(8) The First and last sheets can be seen in a photo-lithographic reproduction in the "Relics of the H. E. I. Co.," plates facing p. 14. Sainsbury : *A Calendar of the Court Minutes etc. of the East India Co.*, p. 104 *et seq*.

(9) Khán : *East India Trade in the XVII century* p. 93.

many other places". In any case, Bombay was handed over to the English, as "part of the new Queen's dowry", and this marriage "threw the shield of English protection over the Portuguese, now hard pressed by the Dutch" (10). The importance of these years therefore justify our separation of the periods, 1620 to 1661 from the other periods of modern Indo-European History, though only a certain extent.

We have already seen that a European feeling could be detected in the background of the history of the relationship of the English in India with other European nations in Eastern Waters. Besides, general expression of solidarity, friendly acts of co-operation and sympathy were not uncommon. But divergent national policies in Europe, jealousy and greed, commercial rivalry and competition led frequently to clashes in the East. The power whom the English saw firmly established on their way to the East was that of Portugal. Portuguese and English ships fought with one another ever since the latter appeared in Eastern Waters. Later on, the Portuguese power declined and their rivalry remained, as I have shown in another paper, dormant.

The other power was that of the Dutch. "When the Dutch in 1598, sent out their ships under Houtman direct to the East Via the Cape, the commercial jealousy of the English prompted the immediate formation of the London East India Company to seize their share in the wealth of Ormuz and Ind" (11). "The merchants of England were in no mood to see the prize they had so long sought snatched away from them by their Dutch rivals" (12). The Old Company therefore "had its origin in the commercial rivalry between London and Amsterdam". The raising of the price of pepper by the Dutch was one of the immediate motives (13).

Dutch rivalry was therefore older than the Company itself. Roe writing to the Company on February 14, 1618, says:—"The Dutch" "wrong you in all parts and grow to insufferable insolencies you must speedely looke to this maggat; els, wee talke of the Portugall, but these will eate a woorme in your sides" (14). Their hostile relations with the English are frequently testified to by the documents of the period. The Treaty of Defence of 1619, "freed the English from active hostilities on the part of the Dutch". But disputes soon arose over among other things, "the exact status of the English in the Dutch settlements." The English complained "that they were made amenable to the Dutch tribunals, and forced to pay excise and other duties; that war was needlessly maintained with Bantam;"—"that the charges to which the English had to contribute was purposely inflated"; and "that the Dutch by paying their soldiers partly in goods, spoiled the local markets, and made it impossible for the English to sell their Coromandel cottons" (15).

(10) English Factories, Vol. 1661-1664, p. 29.

(11) Paul: The East India Co., p. 3.

(12) Cam. Hist. India Vol. V, p. 76.

(13) Hunter: A Brief History of the Indian peoples, p. 169.

(14) O. C. 610; E. F. 1618-21, p. 17.

(15) E. F. 1622-23, p. XXXV and p. XXXVI.

Rastell and others wrote to Batavia on Jan. 24, 1622:—"As regards the Dutch, we pray God theare mischevous practizes transfer not hither" (16). A letter of March 6, 1622, says, "In Pallicatt" "the English factors had twenty bales of goods ready, but the Dutch refused to receive them into their ship". "In other places, they" refused "even to carry English letters" (17). On October 29, 1622, we hear that "the Dutch" "received letters from Surat, but the messenger was not permitted to bring any for the English" (18).

In January, 1623, the English decided "to abandon their factories". "Before this decision could be actually carried out", Herman van Speult and the "Councell of Amboyna" tortured and beheaded "10 Englishmen, 9 Japones, with one Portugall Marenar" on Feb. 27, 1623. The charge was one of conspiracy "to seize on the castle of Amboyna, and to expel the Dutch from the island". With "the lamentable death of soe many our good friends in Amboyna performed on them by the Duches Crueltie" "Vanished all hopes of future co-operation of the two nations in the" East (19). In 1624, "owing to Dutch opposition" the English withdrew "nearly all their factories from the Eastern Archipelago, Java, Siam and the Malay Peninsula". When in Feb. 1625, the English obtained "a grant of ground" at Armugam or Durgarajatnam, "Dutch persecution followed them thither". In 1626, they coerced the English "to join in an expedition against the Portuguese at Mokha and Bombay". In 1630, the Dutch at Surat "to weaken the connection between the English and the Mughal government" depressed deliberately the Company's "stock and credit by selling the European goods at a great loss, and giving high prices for Indian goods" (20). In 1643, the Dutch at Batavia sent "a commissary, Peter Borel", "to Goa to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Portuguese against the English". A long despatch to the Company dated Jan. 27, 1644, refers to this event thus:—The Hollanders; whose Hogen Mogen Generall haveing the passed yeare purposely sent one Pettr Borell, with the title of Commissary to Goa to treat and conclude articles of peace with the V(ice) Roy" etc. They also ordered "there people on coast Choromandell, Seiloan, and this part of India to proclaime the same with more then common ceremony" (21).

"From 1636 onwards a fleet had been sent every year to blockade Goa during the winter months, the only time when the port was accessible". But on Nov. 10, 1644, "an arrangement was reached" with Portugal "by which Negombo and Galle were left in the hands of the Dutch, pending the conclusion of a fresh agreement between the two nations in Europe". "The

(16) E. F. 1622-23, p. 26.

(17) p. 56.

(18) p. 135.

(19) Burgess: Chronology, p. 79; Bruce: Annals of the Hon. East India Co., Vol. I, p. 246 et seq; E. F. 1622-23, p. XXXVI to p. XXXVIII; Factory Records of Surat Vol. CII, p. 372; E. F. 1622-23, p. 260.

(20) Burgess: p. 80 to p. 85.

(21) Burgess: p. 94; E. F. 1642-45, p. 148 and p. 149; Hogen Mogen=Hunne Hoogmogen=High and Mighty; Hague Transcripts, Series i Vol. XIII, nos 410, 420, 422 etc.; Dag-Register, 1643-1644, p. 186 etc.; Lisbon Transcripts Doc. Remett. book 48, f. 149 etc.

Pauw was surrendered with all her cargo ; while on the other hand the Dutch agreed to pay 100,000 rials of eight in satisfaction for the ships they had seized at Goa and Malacca, subsequent to the date on which the Hague Treaty ought to have taken effect". But "the cessation of hostilities between these two nations was viewed with some misgivings by the English merchants" (22). On Jan. 3, 1645, Breton and Merry e.g. wrote from Swally Marine (23):—"Nor may wee encourage you to designe any other ship hereafter to Cocheene or the Coast of Mallabar, being it is most certaine that neither pepper nor cinamon will be acquirable" (manily because of the agreement of the Dutch with the Portuguese). It is one of the instances of the indirect effect of the relationship between the Dutch and the other European powers in the East on organised English commerce.

A Dutch fleet came to Bengal first in 1615, and "signalled its first appearance" "by fighting with the Portuguese near the coast of Arakan" (24). A Dutch establishment probably existed at Chinsura in 1625 (25). By about that time, "the governor of Coromandel sent some of his subordinates to found a trading station in Bengal". In 1653, a "firm footing was obtained at Chinsura", and "Balasore was retained only for the convenience of ships". In 1655, the Directorate of Bengal came into existence. "Considerable liberties" were granted to them by the Nawab of Bengal "from whom they held the Villages of Chinsura and Bernagore in perpetual fief with wide jurisdiction even over natives" (26). It was by virtue of an additional article in the Treaty of (as late as) 13th. August, 1814, between Great Britain and the Netherlands, that Baranagara was at last ceded to the British, "upon a payment of such sum annually . . . as may be considered by Commissioners to be just and reasonable" (27).

Trouble was brewing in Europe. The Union Project came to nothing, and "the first Navigation Act of October 1651 which practically annihilated Dutch trade with the English West Indies, though not intended to provoke war with the United Provinces, was very intelligibly looked upon as conceived in the spirit of retaliation" (28). "The Dutch ever since over Death-Warrant to Charles First" "looked askance at this New Commonwealth", and "accumulated offence on offence against it. Ambassador Dorislaus was assassinated in their country ; Charles Second was entertained there ; evasive answers were given to tough St. John" (29). One of the causes was certainly "commercial tension" and the "oppression of the English Company" (30).

A letter (31) from Fort St. George e.g. of Jan. 18, 1651, speaks of "affronts as" might be "offred" the English "by the Dutch who" did "not

(22) *Cam. Hist. India*, Vol. V., p. 32; E. F. 1642-1645, p. XXIV and XXV.

(23) p. 227 *et seq.*; p. 231; O. C. 1905.

(24) Campos: "Portuguese in Bengal", p. 124.

(25) Burgess: p. 81; C. H. I. Vol. V, p. 655.

(26) C. H. I. Vol. V, p. 40 and p. 41.

(27) Aitchison: *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. II, p. 183 and n. ; p. 184n.

(28) *Cam. Hist. Bri. For. Policy* Vol. I, p. 17.

(29) Carlyle: *Letters of Cromwell* Vol. III, p. 233 and p. 234.

(30) C. H. Bro. For. Policy, p. 18; Burgess, p. 99.

(31) O. C. 2200; E. F. 1651-54, p. 13 *et seq.*

only dissuade but menace (d)" the English. A letter to Persia of Dec. 10, 1652, points out that care "should be taken to give" the Dutch no provocation, but not to trust them upon any pretence of friendship". Should a fight occur, it is hoped that the English "would shew themselves Englishmen here in India as well as (their) friends at home, when one Englishman thinks himselfe as good as two Dutchmen and by God's blessing proved themselves so" (32). Another letter of the same date from Swally Marine points out that owing to the Hollanders hav(ing) trouble in Amboina would not "likely to be able to send a fleet" just then. But it was "decided to cancel the return voyage of the Endeavour to Bantam, because of potential Dutch hostility" (33). On Dec. 12 Jeremy Rayman, the Master of the Assada Merchant is asked to "be on his guard against the Dutch and other possible enemies" (34).

"A Dutch fleet off Swally blocked English trade, and Dutch agents at Ahmedabad induced the Governor to detain all the Company's saltpetre". "Soon after the declaration of war by the Dutch, a fleet of light of their large ships appeared off Swally ; but not choosing to make an attack on the English factory and shipping in the river which would have been held as an aggression by the Mogal government, they set sail for the Persian Gulf". This fleet captured the Roebuck, the Lamaret and the Blessing, and "drove the Supply "on shore, where she was totally lost". The trade on the Coromandel coast was hampered, and that at Bantam "nearly suspended". "Ship after ship fell into the hands of the Hollanders", and "English prestige suffered greatly, both in India and in Persia". The Dutch "news service made them aware that war had broken out. Keeping this dark, they surprised the Company's vessels and sailed exultantly into Indian and Persian ports, their prizes in tow. They swiftly swept English commerce off the seas". This news service is referred to by Tavernier when he says "They (the Dutch) had spies everywhere", but he adds, "like the English". In any case, "victory in the Channel was a doubtful tale, whereas English shipping captive in the Gulf or in Swally Roads was plain to see" (35).

Some naval actions between the Dutch with the English are vividly described by Tavernier. "While on my return to Surat", says Tavernier, "I learnt that war had been declared between the English and Dutch". One of these was fought in February, 1654, in which the Dutch had an advantage in having "small" "vessels" "built expressly for fighting". "They had not high bulwarks, and so appeared small externally, but were otherwise of great strength". Tavernier and the sub-pilot "fired a cannon-shot so effectively into the cabin of the English captain that the bullet set fire to some powder-cartridges which had been left there." Another English vessel "of

(32) p. 146.

(33) O. C. 2297 ; E. F. 1651-54, p. 139 *et seq* ; p. 144.

(34) p. 146.

(35) Bruce : *Annals of the Hon. E. I. Co. Vol. I, p. 481 et seq* ; C. H. I. Vol. V, p. 86 ; Thompson and Garratt : *Rise and Fulfilment of Bri. Rule in India, p. 28 and p. 29* ; Tavernier's *Travels in India (Ball's Transl.) Vol. II, p. 373*.

about thirty guns" was "badly damaged" by the Dutch. She "ran up the white flag, and asked for quarter which was granted." But some of the English crew and their captors drank so much of Shiraz wine "of which they had a quantity in the bottom of the hold", that they were all drowned. In another action off Bantam, an English ship was captured by the Dutch inspite of the gallant defence set up by some Javanese nobles their servants and "passengers". The "Combat" of the Dutch with the Javanese nobles and others was "bloody", and "seven or eight Dutchmen succumbered" (36). Father Queyroz also notices one of these actions in his exhaustive work, "The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon". "The Hollander had gone in search of some English ships which were coming from Persia . . . Fortunate in this expedition was their captain Richloff Van Goens" who "destroyed" and "vanquished" "the English" off the coast of Sind in 1654 (37).

The Treaty of Westminster of April 5, 1654, terminated the war. The famous XXX article laid down "that four commissioners" should "be named on both sides" who were "to examine and distinguish all those losses and injurys in the year 1611, and after, to the 18th of May, 1652 according to the English style, as well as in the East Indies as in" other parts of the world. The restoration of the Island of Polarun, the payment of an indemnity to the Company and another to the heirs of the Amboyna sufferers were ultimately decided on (38). But rivalry and competition continued.

In a letter of Revington and others to the Company, dated 28th. Jan. 1657, for examples, we find :—"Wee are trampled by the greatest enimes as well as enoyers to our trade and nation, the Dutch." "Last yeare they took Zeloan". They believed that the Dutch would ultimately overthrow the Portuguese, and then the English were "not to expect at the best trade" "without paying them whatever custome they" would "impose upon" the English. It seemed prudent for the Company to pay serious attention to, the letter continued, the fact that the Dutch had already taken "townes and forts" so important as to threaten the "utter exterpatation of" the Company's "factories and trade" in India (39).

In the same year, we find the Dutch "bribe the servants of the London Company" at Bantam "to desert" (40). The Dutch we are also told, became more friendly with "Merjumbelo", "the chief generale of Oram Zeeve" at Suti than the Company's servants (41). Halstead's letter of 3 June, 1659, mentioned "a rumour of" "Merjumbelows offering the government of Heugley to the Dutch" (42). Andrews writes on April 6, 1660 that "Meir Jumbbla is . . . a friend to our false ones the Dutch and urged by them to offerre abuses unto us". (43) But Halstead's letter of 13th Sept. 1660, says that "the Dutch had all their goods seized on at Dacka . . . and their persons grasly abused."

(36) Ball : *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 310 *et seq*; Vol. II, p. 373 and p. 374.

(37) Queyroz, Book V : Transln. by Father Perera, p. 922.

(38) Articles XXVII and XXX quoted in Bruce : *Annals* Vol. I. p. 489 and p. 490.

(39) E. F. 1655-1660, p. 114 to p. 117.

(40) Burgess : p. 103.

(41) E. F. 1655-1660, p. 286.

(42) p. 288 n.

(43) p. 305.

"At Heugley also, the Second of the Dutch was imprisoned ten dayes and narrowly saved his life" (44). On the 5th of Oct. 1660, I may note in passing, "the States General" appointed "Prince Louis of Nassan" and others "to congratulate the King on his Restoration"; and in November of the same year Polarún was ordered to be ceded to the English. The destruction of the spice trees leads Bruce to conclude that this cession was made "not with a view of allowing the English to participate in the spice trade", "but obviously to facilitate the renewal of the treaties in Europe" (45).

A letter of 16th Oct. 1658, mentions that "the Dutch now (though with the loss of a great many of their men) hath purchased all Zelone to themselves" (46).

Another of 2nd. May, 1659 says:—"The Dutch and we stand upon very tickleish terms . . . We charge them with breach of their articles . . . and for the same many of their ships have been taken by us." The Anglo-Dutch relations in Europe by about this time were thought to be heading towards a war (47).

The Remonstrance and Peititon of the Company to the Council of Trade, to take another example, dated December 11, 1660 (48) in course of sketching a history of East India trade, says:—"Whilst the English," "were content to carry on the trade in a fair and just way with the consent of the natives, the Dutch coveting to engross it for themselves unjustly seized many ships belonging to the English, disturbed them in their trade in divers places . . . and inflicted many wrongs and injuries upon them" . . . "Neither of late years have the Dutch forborne their wonted violence . . . they . . . disturbed the English in their commerce by sea and land . . . (and) vilified them generally, as if they were but one degree above slaves". Shortly afterwards we find, "Wee entend very suddenly to present to our Kings Majestic (who is now by Gods providence, returned and settled in the Government of his kingdomes) a narration of these abuses which have binn put upon us by the Dutch; amongst whih wee will inscert their proceedings at Porto Nova, in frustrating you of the promised freight by their threatening of those country people and confiscating of their goods" (49). Portuguese power is declining. A long letter from Swally Marine of Jan. 27, 1644, says "The Portugalls are soe base and beggerly that they will not at such cost meddle with such a comodity"—Canary wine which the English were trying to sell. We find in a letter of 20th January, 1659, that "the Portugalls beginn to be verie poore both" at Goa" and all along the coast "because of the Dutch blokade of Goa (50). "The Portugalls are very low" according to another letter already referred to. But "the Dutch with their bribing the Governors of the country get footing

(44) p. 294.

(45) Bruce: *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 553 and 554; Burgess, p. 106.

(46) E. F. 1655-1660, p. 153.

(47) p. 203 *et seq.*

(48) Public Record office: C. O. 389, Vol. I, f. 24; A calendar of Court Minutes etc. Vol. 1660-1663, p. 56 *et seq.*

(49) E. F. 1661-1664, p. 43.

(50) E. F. 1642-45, p. 145; 1655-1660, p. 157.

upon this coast of India (51) more and more, having lately . . . taken the castle of Quiline from the Portugalls . . . And if there comes no Vice Roy this yeare from Portugall with shipping, soldiers and ammunition, they will proceed a pace, taking possession of their small houlds upon the coast" (52).

By this time, the Dutch "traded wherever the English did, in Bengal, Gujrat, Sind and at Agra". Their establishment was much larger than that of the English. They "employed abundant capital and a large number of ships". "One special advantage they possessed was their mastery of the trade of the Far East. This enabled them to supply India with goods from China and Japan, as well as with spices and pepper from Java and Sumatra, thus obviating the necessity of relying, like the English, mainly on the importation of money and European commodities" (53).

The Dutch were "well ahead of" the English "in the amount of business they were doing." "The Dutch" e.g. had "nine pattelloes of petar with some 25 in 26000 maunds which" had "been at Pun Pun" (54) "some 16 daies" "which" would "goe for Hugley, their dustuckes being" "already" (55).

The Dutch were supplanting the Portuguese as the serious rivals of the English towards the close of our period, and the effect of their rivalry became accentuated by the lack of adequate support to the Company from home, and other causes. "Inspite of the victories obtained in Europe" during the war, we find e.g. in a letter from Balasore of Dec. 18, 1654 (56):—"Yett because wee have not supplies to second our reports to these people nor any business that may be thought in the least proportionable to the vast trade of the Hollanders here, it hath caused us to be very suspiciously lookt upon in the opinion of" others. "These places in Bengal and Eurixa sufficiently manifest that there is roome enough for the imployment of a great stock; where although the Dutch invest at least 200,000 sterling yearly, and some years find leading for seven or eight ships of burden, nevertheless your Worships supplying this place with stock sufficient and honest men to manadg it, will soone find as great business and as much profit."

The Dane was also a competitor to be taken into account. In March, 1616, Christian IV established the Danish East India Co. "Two years later on the representation of a Dutch merchant named Marcellis de Boschhouwer . . . it was resolved to found a colony in the island of Ceylon". Under Roelant Crape—a Dutchman and not a Dane, as Burgess suggests the Oeresund was despatched in August, 1618. "He reached Ceylon in safety, but after sending word to the King that a fleet was following, passed on to the Coromandel coast". There da Costa attacked him with six Portuguese galleys. "In the conflict Crape's vessel was driven ashore, and he and a handful of his men took refuge at Tanjur where they were well received by Raghunátha the Náyaka" Rájá. The main fleet under Ove Gjedde pushed on to the Indian

(51) the Western Coast.

(52) E. F. 1655-1660, p. 199.

(53) p. 5 and p. 6.

(54) "8 miles South of Patna".

(55) E. F. 1655 to 1660, p. 408 and p. 409.

(56) E. F. 1651-54, p. 303 to p. 305.

coast via the Cape and Ceylon. The united efforts of Crape and Gjedde resulted in "the formal cession by the Náyáka in Nov. 1620 of the port of Tranquebar. There a rudimentary fortress was built under the name of Dansborg, and Hendrik Hess was left in charge with about twenty persons and a few cannon" (57).

Their trading established "on a rapidly increasing tide of prosperity began to extend as far north as the Bay of Bengal" (58). We find e.g., a reference in the English documents to "a relation of the Danes ships and their plantations", and the chase of "a frigate of the Danes" by the Dutch in a letter from Masulipatam dated May 12, 1621 (59). In a Tanjor letter of March 4, 1622, we find:—"The Danes doth trade under the name of the English and are marvellous well eused, hath given them a towne and place to build a castell, which is finished, and hath therlie sixe peeces of ordinance mounted thrin" (60). "The Danes", says a letter of Dec. 14, 1623, "have laden this yeere at the Coast about 400 tonnes of pepper, which with some callicos make upp the cargazon of one their shippes for Denmark" (61). "By the year 1633, active trade relations had been established" by the Danes "along the Orissa coast, and a few years later still, their first permanent settlement in Bengal was established at Balasore (62). A letter from Fort St. George dated Jan. 28, 1644, says that on the 20th. Sept. 1643 "arived in this road a couple of vessels from Tranggabbar, one being the juncke they took formerly from the Moores in Bangalla". The "President" of the Danes "made offer" to the English "the benifitt of his port and his best industry for investing whatt" "the English" "should desire". But an Englishman was sent with him to "advise" the Company's servants of his "proceedings" (63). Their great disadvantage like that of the English during this period probably lay in want of "adequate support from home". The same letter of Jan. 28, 1644 already referred to, says:—"And as for the Danes, hee is in as bad or worse condition ; and tis very probable we may bee in the same predicament in a short time".

"Long before the time of Louis XIV" "the French appeared in India" (64). In a letter of May 12, 1621, we find:—"A French ship" "came to Achin" "for pepper and procure trade there, but" lay "long and performed little". "His men die(d) apace". "A French factor", says the same letter, came "to Masulipatam to make preparation for trade against the coming of their ship" (65). A little later than 1625, Richelien says:—"The trade that ought to be done with the East Indies and Persia . . . ought not to be neglected". The possibilities of a trade with Ceylon, Bengal, Masulipatam

(57) E. F. 1655-1660, p. 5; 1618-21, p. XLIV *et seq.*

(58) The Calcutta Review, 1919 no. 295, p. 92.

(59) E. F. 1618-21, p. 254 and p. 255.

(60) E. F. 1622 to 1623, p. 52.

(61) E. F. 1622-1623, p. 337.

(62) Cal. Review, No. 295, p. 92 and p. 93.

(63) E. F. 1642-45, p. 156 and p. 157.

(64) C. H. I. Vol. V, p. 61.

(65) E. F. 1618-21, p. 254 and 255.

and other parts was visualised by Beaulieu in 1631-32. The Viceroy of Goa in a letter to King Philip dated Feb. 3, 1633 mentioned three French ships as having been in the straits of Mecca (66). We hear of "the Frenche Capochine friars" as "petitioners" for silk contracts "to be past by the way of Alleppo" in a letter from Gombroon of March 17, 1631. In "theis they have little hope, being strongly opposed by ourselves" and others. (67)

The French established themselves at Fort Dauphin in Madagascar "easily reached by ships coming from or going to India". "Some of their ships or smaller vessels between 1650 and 1660 proceeded to the Arabian or Indian coasts" (68). "The fifth or Colbert's French East India Company" had been "formed" in 1644 (69). This was the result "of the eager desire felt in France . . . to share with Dutch and English in bringing to Euorpe the precious goods of India" (70). We hear of the "taking off" e.g. "four Frenchmen who had come across Madagascar from a French settlement on the east coast", in a letter to the Company dated April 14, 1645 (71).

In a letter to Surat of 15th. Sept. 1651, we find that a "French vessell", probably the St. Martin, carrying silk belonging to some merchants apparently of Ispahan was "seized on by English shippinge" on a voyage from "Smirna to Livorne" (Leghorn) (72). In another letter of April 24, 1652 the French are accused of forming a "designe", and the (Coromandel) Agent promised "to frustrate it if possible" (73).

There were members of other European nations also in Eastern Waters, e.g., the Portuguese, the Genoese who wanted to trade with the East and the Spaniards at Manilla. I have referred to their activities elsewhere.

The activities of the Company in India are intimately connected with its activities in other parts of the East, and the student finds it hard to separate one from the other. In fact, in studying the present topic, references to these Eastern activities are very important.

The activities of the pirates belonging to European nations who vied with Indian corsairs in keeping the seas unsafe during this period, have been kept separate from the transactions of organised European traders, in this paper.

On the whole, one must conclude that inspite of a European feeling, and performance of acts of friendship and co-operation, among the European nations in Eastern waters, the other Europeans present in India were actual or potential rivals of the Company at one time and another. This European rivalry inspite of lulls of friendliness begins before this period under review, continues throughout this age, and passes into the next.

J. C. DE.

(66) C. H. I. Vol. V, p. 61; in the Testament Politique; C. H. I. Vol. V, p. 62; E. F. 1630-1633, p. 275 n. i; Lisbon Transcripts; Doc. Remett. bk. 30, f. 263.

(67) E. F. 1630-33, p. 140 and p. 141.

(68) C. H. I. Vol. V, p. 62.

(69) Burgess, p. 95.

(70) C. H. I. Vol. V, p. 62.

(71) E. F. 1641-45, p. 259 and 260.

(72) E. F. 1651-54, p. 66.

(73) p. 120.

Some Eighteenth Century Armenian Graves in Calcutta.

IN the historic Roman Catholic Church (1) commonly known as the Murgihatta Church, in Portuguese Church Street, (off Canning Street), where the English worshipped for some time, after the destruction of the Church of St. Anne, during the Sack of Calcutta, by Nawab Suraj-ud-dowlah in June 1756, there are some old Armenian graves, with beautiful marble tombstones bearing inscriptions, carved in raised letters, in Armenian and Latin.

As very few persons know of the existence of these old graves, that have stood the ravages of Time and the elements for two hundred years, in a damp place like Calcutta, they are published here, with biographical notes, for the information of lovers of old Calcutta. They may also prove of some interest to the Indian Epigraphical Department :

1. Hic Armenus Leo nomine dictus at quem mors ipsa facta Leo Nazareth patri meo Persaeque patriae meae tollere non parcit, annos sexaginta natus sacramentis munitus jaceo appositus ad patres. Lector aliorum fata meditans disce vita fungi ; sic namque totum geritur recte negotium, Anno 1734.

TRANSLATION.

Here, joined to my ancestors, lie I, caled Leo, an Armenian aged sixty years. Death, itself a lion, has not hesitated to tear me away from my father Nazareth and from Persia, my fatherland. Reader, learn how to make a proper use of life by meditating on the fate of others. Thus will the business of life be carried on rightly. In the year 1734.

2. Hic jacet Sarkis de Agavally, natione Armenianus in Persia natus qui ætatis suae annum 48 attingens in pace quiescit die 7 Februarii anno Christi 1736.

(1) The church, which was a small chapel at first, was erected, in 1700, at the expense of a devout Catholic lady of Calcutta, a Mrs. Margaret Tench, whose only daughter, Maria Tench, was interred there in 1712. The Portuguese community having grown in numbers, the chapel was extended in 1720 at the expense of another devout Portuguese lady of Calcutta, a Mrs. Sebastian Shau, who died in 1725 and was interred in the church where her grave can be seen to this day. In 1797, the church was demolished and on its site, the present beautiful church was erected by public subscriptions. It was consecrated on the 27th November, 1799 and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

TRANSLATION.

Here lies Sarkis de Agavally, (2) an Armenian, born in Persia, who went to a peaceful rest in the 48th year of his age, on the 7th February, in the year of Christ, 1736.

There is also an inscription of 4 lines in ancient Armenian.

3. Tristes hic jacent exuviae Emmanuelis Sarhatte natione Armeni; ex illustri Xerimanorum stirpe in Persia oriundi sed vera fide (quam ad obitum usque integre servavit) magis laudandi; licet ætatis flore, viggessimo scilicet octavo raptus fuerit, attamen consummatus in brevi explevit tempora multa; placita enim erat Deo anima illusi, propter hoc properavit educere illum de medio iniquitatum; æternitatis laurea cum coronatus mortem oppetiit die nona Martii 1738.

TRANSLATION.

Here lie the remains of Emmanuel Sarhatte, an Armenian born in Persia, from the illustrious family of the Xerimani; but he is deserving of greater praise for his steadfastness unto death in the true faith. Although carried off in the flower of youth, i.e., in his 28th year, he being made perfect in a short space, fulfilled a long time, for his soul pleased God, therefore he hastened to bring him out of the midst of iniquities. Crowned with the laurel of eternity, he died on the 9th of March, 1738.

There is also an inscription of 8 lines in ancient Armenian in which Sarhatte, or Sarhad, is stated to be the son of Emmanuel, or Manuel Xerimani, which in the Armenian, is called Shahrman.

4. Hic Jacet Petrus Armenius et Catholicus qui en patre nomine Izakan in Persida natus vitam finivit in Colcutta die 23 Octobris Aerae Christianae 1742 annum ætatis suae 50 attingens.

TRANSLATION.

Here lies Peter, an Armenian and a Catholic, born in Persia; the name of his father is Izakan. He died in Calcutta on the 23rd of October, A.D. 1742, in the 50th year of his age.

There is also an inscription of 3 lines in ancient Armenian, in which the name is given as Isakhan.

(2) There was an eminent Armenian merchant at Madras, Sarkis Satoor de Agavally by name, born at Basra in 1745, died on the 16th November 1812, and was interred in the churchyard of that city. He was a patron of Armenian learning and had established a printing press at Madras in 1809 for publishing books in the ancient language of Armenia for which there was a great demand amongst the Armenian colonists in India and the East. The press, after printing some important works, was closed down immediately after the death of the owner, in 1812. (See *Madras, the Birth place of Armenian Journalism*, p. 11, by the present writer).

5. Here lyeth interred the body of Satur de Azarmal, son to Azarmal (3) of the Armenian nation, born in the province of Julfa, in Persia, and of the Roman Catholic religion, aged 45 years, who departed this life on the 13th of May, 1746.

There are no inscriptions, either in Latin or Armenian.

6. Hic jacet corpus Ignacii Isaac de Sauquic Armenus natione naturalis ex Persia oriundus ex civitate Julfa, diem Supremum obiit die trigessima mensis Maii Anno Domini 1746.

TRANSLATION.

Here lies the body of Ignatius Isaac de Saquic, an Armenian, born in Persia, in the city of Julfa, He died on the 30th of May A.D. 1746.

There is an inscription of 4 lines in ancient Armenian, in which the name of the deceased is given as Minas, the son of Sahak, of the family of Dzakik.

7. In isto tumulo jacet corpus defuncti Zacaria Xerimani natione Armeni (mercator) diem supremum obiit Colicatæ die 26 Novemberis, Anno 1754.

TRANSLATION.

In this tomb lies the body of the deceased Zacaria Xerimani, an Armenian merchant. He died at Calcutta on the 26th November in the year 1754.

8. In isto tumulo jacet corpus defuncti Philipi Xerimani, natione Armeni (mercator) diem supremum obiit Colicatæ die 27 Octobris Anno 1755.

TRANSLATION.

In this tomb lies the body of the deceased Philip Xerimani, an Armenian merchant. He died at Calcutta on the 27th day of October, 1755.

There is also an inscription of 6 lines in ancient Armenian.

9. Hic jacet Joseph Bacarum Xerimani natione Armenius, obiit die XI Juni, Anno Domini MDCCLXIII.

TRANSLATION.

Here lies Joseph Bacarum Xerimani, an Armenian. He died on the 11th of June, 1763.

There is an inscription of 8 lines in ancient Armenian in which Joseph the son Bagram of the noble family of the Sharimans, born at Julfa, in Ispahan, is called a "devout" person.

c (3) Azarmal is a corrupt form of Hazarmall. The Hazarmalls were a wealthy Armenian family of Calcutta during the first half of the 18th century. A pious member of that family, Agah Manuel Hazarmall, erected in 1734, the beautiful belfry of the Armenian church at Calcutta, on which rests the handsome English clock presented by Agah Catchick Arakiel, a prominent member of the Armenian Community of Calcutta, in 1790.

10. Hic jacet Zacharias Bacarum Xerimani natione Armenius, obiit die vigesima septima Novembris, Anno Domini, MDCCLXIV.

TRANSLATION.

Here lies Zacharia Bacarum Xerimani, an Armenian. He died on the 27th November, A.D. 1764.

There is an inscription of 7 lines in ancient Armenian, in which Zacharia, the son of Bagram of the noble family of the Sharimans, born at Julfa, in Ispahan, is called a "devout" person, like his brother Joseph.

Zacharia Bagram Shariman was the brother of Joseph Bagram Shariman (No. 9). Both the brothers are buried next to each other, having similar tombstones, carved with raised inscriptions and floral decorations of the same style, without any difference, with the exception of the Christian names. These two brothers were great patrons of Armenian letters and learning and between the two, they bore all the expenses of the printing of the monumental *History of Armenia*, in three big volumes, by Father Michael Chamchian of the learned Mechitharist Society of Venice, a religious order founded by the Armenian monk, Mekhithar, in 1701, for the preservation and the advancement of the ancient language and culture of Armenia, which had fallen into deplorable decay through ages of persecution of the Armenian race at the hands of the cruel Tartars, the Turks and the Persians, in the land, where, in the words of Byron, "God created man in His own image."

11. Acuiesta sepultado ocorpo de Gabriel Joannes nacas Armenio de idade LXVIII an Sonoual iadeceoa XI dei anetroanio Domino MDCCLXXXII.

Above the Portuguese inscription, which is carved in a very poor and inartistic style, there is a beautiful inscription of 13 lines in ancient Armenian, from which it appears that the deceased Gabriel, of the noble family of Johanness, was a devout, good and a just person of irreproachable character, humble and chaste.

12. Hic jacet Georgius Johannis Drascoelu nationis Graecus ex Phillippopolis. Anno Domini MDCCXXVIII die XX Augusti.

TRANSLATION.

Here lies George John Drascoelu of Greek descent, born in Phillippopolis. A.D. 1728, on the 20th August.

There are, in addition to the Latin, inscriptions in Greek and also in Armenian, but why in the Armenian language, it is difficult to understand, unless his wife belonged to that nation and she desired to have her husband's name inscribed on the tombstone in her own language also, out of a patriotic feeling.

There is yet the tombstone of another Greek, one Nicholas Christianitza, a native of Transilvania, "a man of sincere faith in God and upright in his dealings with men" who died on the 17th August, 1713, according to the Latin inscription on his tombstone.

It may be mentioned that the *oldest* tombstone in that Church is to the memory of one Maria Tench, the daughter of Edward and Margaret Tench, who died at the age of twelve, on the 9th April, 1712, Mrs. Margaret Tench, the mother of the girl was the founder of the Chapel erected in 1700, as stated in the beginning of this article. The Shahrimans, or the Xerimani as they are called in the Latin inscriptions, belonged to an aristocratic Armenian family of the Roman Catholic faith. The ancestor of the family came from Julfa on the Aras, in south Armenia, and settled at Ispahan in 1605.

They were eminent merchants and great bankers who carried on an extensive trade with India, Italy Austria and Russia. Some members of the family lived and died at Calcutta, Madras and Surat. For the valuable services rendered by the Shahrimans to the Catholic cause in Persia, by reason of their great influence at the Persian Court, they were created Counts of the holy Austrian Empire by the Emperor Leopold on the 23rd June 1699.

One Count Pogose (Paul) Shahriman, who rose to be a commander of the Imperial Austrian army, was presented with a gold cross by the renowned Empress Maria Theresa, for his valour and bravery in the Military service of the Austrian Empire. Another member of that illustrious family, Count Emmanuel Shahriman, was the Ambassador of Persia at the Russian Court. One of the sons of the Ambassador, Count Johanness Shahriman, died at Madras in 1791, and another member of the same family, also Count Johanness Shahriman died at Madras in 1848, and was allowed to be buried in the Armenian churchyard of that city, although a Roman Catholic, thanks to the toleration of the holy Apostolic Church of Armenia.

There lives at Madras a lineal descendant of the Shahriman Counts, who resided and died in that city during the 18th and 19th centuries, as stated above. This *last* representative of the illustrious Shahriman family in India, is a Government pensioner, having retired from the Telegraph service. He is attending the orthodox Armenian Church at Madras and in his old age, is learning the language of his ancestors. A praiseworthy zeal indeed, would that some of the Anglicised Armenians in India followed his noble example.

MESROVB J. SETH.

An Account of the Early European Indigo Planters in Bhagalpur.

INDIGO formed the chief item of manufacturing production in the district of Bhagalpur in the latter half of the eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth centuries. An official report under date 18th April 1798 connected with the production of indigo in the district of Bhagalpur, states that in the five parganas of the district, viz., Bhagalpur, Colgong, Curruckpore, Monghyr and Soorajegurrah, the amount of land under indigo cultivation was more than 1321 bighas, and the estimated value of indigo manufactured therefrom amounted to Sicca Rs. 14,961. The above mentioned document shows that, the indigo fields measured highest in Monghyr, after which came Curruckpore and Colgong. The position of pargana Bhagalpur was then fourth in the list. But about three decades later, indigo cultivation greatly increased in the Bhagalpur pargana and the quantity of land under indigo cultivation rose from 82 bighas in 1798 to 1821 bighas.

The following pages deal with the early European indigo planters in the Bhagalpur district. The official records and documents preserved in the archives of the District Officer's record room form the chief source of our information. This paper furnishes a statement of indigo plants and factories and their situations, the amount of land attached to each and the date of authority in each case.

It is to be observed that, the paper covers a period of about four decades, commencing from 1793 A.D., the earliest date in the History of indigo plantation in Bhagalpur, and ending with 1830, and that among the indigo planters most are English by nationality a few being Polish, Italian, Scotch or Irish. There is a reference to about thirty-five European planters and thirty-eight sites where indigo was cultivated and manufactured in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. For the sake of convenience, the names of the planters have been arranged in the alphabetical order.

1. Arrouch, F.—Manager of the Jumoonnee Estate, Maharajpur Factory, Rajmahal, 1844.
2. Bentinc, James—owned in 1830 indigo factories at Muskipur (Thana Gogri, Monghyr), Bysah (Bhagalpur Pargana) and Doomurreah (thana Amarpur) with a total of 4560 bighas of land. It is reported that, the total number of native establishment permanently kept up all the year round was 75 and the number of servants entertained during the growing and manufacturing season was 1650.

3. Bethune, John—native home, Scotland ; possessed indigo concerns at Pointy (Pirpointy) ; a resident of the district since 1784.
4. Blood, Thomas Shave—an Irishman, possessing in 1824 an indigo factory in the district.
5. Chesterman, J.—resided at Lakhipur near Rajmahal in 1810 and was connected with an indigo concern of that place.
6. Christian, M. J.—an inhabitant of Poland ; possessed in 1827 twenty bighas of land at Monghyr with a house and an indigo factory on it, three bighas at Laloo Pookur with an indigo factory and also seven bighas at Jahangeera (near Sultanganj) with an indigo plant.
7. Craddock, N.—Owner of an indigo factory at Shabebgunj in 1830.
8. Davidson, P.—was the proprietor of the following indigo factories and lands ; in 1821 twenty bighas of land at Lattypur in 1822 eleven bighas of land at Bhagalpur, nine bighas at Tarapur (Monghyr), two bighas at Colgong, thirty-two bighas at Delarabad and nine bighas at Malkrishna.
9. Davidson, Robert—owner of the following indigo factories in 1811 : Luttypur, twenty bighas (date of authority, 16th August, 1793) Aujmabad (thana Colgong) fifty bighas of land (date of authority, 14th January, 1812), Bysah, fifty bighas (date of authority, 14th January, 1812), Angarpur (thana Bhagalpur) twenty-one bighas (date of authority, 1809).

In 1814, in addition to Bysah mentioned above, Davidson owned Muskipur (thana Gogri, Monghyr) eighteen bighas and three cottahs (date of authority, 14 January, 1814) and Colgong, two bighas (date of authority 14th January, 1814).

The same year, i.e., in 1814, Davidson possessed in Joint ownership with Murchison the following indigo concerns, *viz.*, Bhagalpur, eleven bighas (date of authority, 1st Feb., 1793) ; Colgong, thirty-two bighas and nine cottahs (date of authority, 16th Aug., 1793) ; Luttypur twenty bighas, (date of authority 16th Aug., 1793) ; Aujmabad (thana Colgong) fifty bighas ; Augurpur, twenty-one bighas ; Tarapur, nine bighas ; Bhawanipur (thana Colgong) eighteen bighas (14th Jan., 1812) ; Gogahnullah, ten bighas (14th Jan., 1812).

10. Draper, James—held in 1830 indigo factories at Tarapur, Chohurun and Choisa. The total amount of land under indigo cultivation was 5000 bighas : the number of native establishment kept up the year round was 28 and the number of servants etc. entertained during growing and manufacturing season was 25,193.

(4) Blood, T. S. One Randal Blood died 19 Dec., 1824, aged 24, and was buried at Bhagalpur. His tombstone was erected by a brother, very probably T. S. Blood.

(6) Christian. John Christian was born in Poland in 1769. At the second division of Poland in 1793 he left for England to avoid conscription by Russia, and then came to India. He was an indigo-planter at Monghyr and at Bariahi in Bhagalpur district. He died in 7th April 1846, aged 77. The indigo concern at Bariahi was carried on by successive generations of his descendants.

(10) Draper, James. One James Draper died 5 May, 1831, aged 22, and was buried at Bhagalpur.

11. Field, George.—Proprietor of an indigo factory at Pealapur in 1830.
12. Glass, C.—was born in India. In 1829 he possessed the following indigo concerns, *viz.*, Bhagalpur with 35 bighas of land (date of authority, Sept., 1790 and 1st March 1793); Colgong fifty bighas (date of authority, 18th Nov., 1791); Pealapur, (Colgong) fifty bighas (date of authority, 1st March, 1793), and Gorghaut (thana Sultangunj) fifty bighas (date of authority, 11th Jan., 1795). He had also indigo plants at Sultanpur in 1834.
13. Glass, John—was appointed surgeon of the Invalid Establishment, Bhagalpur on 25th Feb., 1793, became the Agent Contractor for buidling the jail at Bhagalpur in 1804. In 1802 Glass held the following lands with indigo plants erected on each *viz.*, Bhagalpur sixty bighas on Fee Simple tenure and lease (date of authority, 1st Nov., 1793); Cologong fifty bighas on Suit Rent tenure (date of authority, 1st Nov., 1793); Pealapur, fifty-five bighas (date of authority 1st Nov., 1793); Pointy, twenty-five bighas (date of authority, 18th November, 1794) and Gorghaut, fifty bighas.
14. Glass, Walter Shirling—Assistant to his father Dr. Glass in the maunufacture of indigo in 1798.
15. Hasted, F. D.—In 1795 he held in joint proprietorship with Creighton the indigo concern at Sera Singh (near Rajmahal) with twenty-five bighas of land attached to it (date of authority, 3rd Sep., 1793). He afterwards purchased Creighton's share of the concern. In 1804 he owned twenty bighas of land with indigo cultivation at Beergachee (thana Katoria Banka) (date of authority, 7th July, 1797), twenty bighas at Puttourah (in 1808: date of authority, 7th July, 1797), twenty-five bighas at Lakhipur (Rajmahal) in 1820 (date of authority, 7th July, 1797).
16. Hasted, G.—held twenty-five bighas of land with a house and indigo factory on it at Sera Sing (Rajmahal) in 1827 (date of authority, 3rd September, 1793).
17. Havers, R.—in 1818 he jointly owned with Turner the following indigo plantations, *viz.*, Colgong, twenty-four bighas and five cottahs (date of authority 16th Aug., 1793) and Aujmabad, fifty bighas (date of authority, 14th Jan., 1812). In 1820 Messrs. Havers and Turner possessed twenty-six bighas of land at Bhagalpur with indigo concern (date of authority, 11th Jan., 1812).

(13) Glass, John. This was John Glas or Glass, born 1750; surgeon's mate of the "Speaker", 1769-70; sudgeon of the "Prime", 1773-4 and 1777-78. Appointed assistant surgeon on the Bengal Establishment, 15 April, 1781. Gave up promotion in order to remain at Bhagalpur, where he died on 3 August, 1822 (Crawford's "Roll of the I.M.S."; No. B 250). Nos. 12 and 14, C. and W. S. Glass, were evidently his sons. One Thomas Glass, born 17 Sept., 1787, died 27 August, 1830, buried at Bhagalpur, must have been another son.

(17) Havers, Robert. Robert Havers, Esq., late of Colgong died 23 July, 1820, aged 29, and was buried at Bhagalpur.

18. Hay, James—Scotchman : in 1795 an opium contractor and indigo manufacturer ; brother of John Hay.
19. Hay, John—a free merchant, held in 1799 fifty-three bighas and fourteen cottahs of land at Bhagalpur with indigo cultivation (date of authority, 1st Feb., 1793), thirty-two bighas and nine cottahs, at Colgong with houses, offices, bungalows, and different sets of indigo works constructed.

Of this land twenty-two bighas and nine cottahs were occupied by a barren hill on the summit of which a small house was erected. It was held under a lease from the proprietor in the name of J. Grant, who made it over to J. Hay.

Of the land purchased at Bhagalpur forty-two bighas and fourteen cottahs were attached to a house built in 1780 by W. C. Cockrell who sold them to M. Davis and the latter again to Hay.

In 1811 John Hay owned in partnership with S. Murchison the Colgong concern.

20. Homfray, Jeremiah—an Irishman, who in 1829 held a small indigo establishment at Coah, which he ultimately sold to Gangagovind Bose.
21. Johnson, Arthur—possessed in 1825, forty-one bighas of land at Bhagalpur (date of authority, 1st Feb., 1793) ; in 1827, he held two bighas of land at Colgong, and thirty-two bighas at Delarabad (date of authority, 1st Jan., 1814) and nine bighas at Malkrishna with indigo factories at the last two mentioned places.

In 1830, Arthur Johnson was connected with the indigo cultivation at Luttypur with 4,500 bighas of land attached to it. The number of his native establishment permanently kept up all the year round amounted to 18 and those entertained during growing season 19,706. Arthur's indigo plantation at Bhagalpur measured 3600 bighas in 1830 ; here the number of his permanent establishment was 19 and temporary establishment 26,472. In connection with the Bhagalpur concern Arthur had 2 Europeans and 2 Indo-Britons as his general assistants.

22. Murchison, S.—held in partnership with J. Hay the indigo concern at Colgong in 1811, and in 1814 he held other indigo factories jointly with R. Davidson.
23. Oliver John—Indigo merchant at Bhowanipur in 1830. The amount of land under indigo cultivation was 1500 bighas. The number of permanent and temporary establishments were 28 and 4104 respectively.

(21) Johnson, Arthur. "Formerly of the Royal Navy and latterly of Bhagalpur, indigo planter, born at Ringwood in Hampshire, 17 April, 1782, died at Bhagalpur 26 September, 1847", after 40 years residence in India. His wife Bridget died there on 2 December, 1841, aged 45.

(22) Murchison, S. Simon. Murchison, late of Colgong, died 21 August, 1815, aged 38, and was buried at Bhagalpur.

24. Pattulo, R.—In 1827 he held the following indigo factories, viz., Bysah with fifty bighas of land, Mushkipur with eighteen bighas and three cottahs, Domaria with eleven bighas and Phulwaria (Colgong) with sixteen bighas. The date of authority for all the three is 14th Januray, 1812.
25. Puttulo, W.—owner of an indigo factory at Mushkipur (thana Gogri, Monghyr) in 1821.
26. Porter, A.—Indigo manufacturer at Gangaparsad (thana Gogri, Monghyr) in 1793.
27. Rairy, Neal—Indigo planter at Deodaur (thana Banka) in 1814.
28. Rice, T. B.—of Neemtullah Indigo factory, Rajmahal, 1834.
29. Ross, Thomas—was an indigo planter of Phulwaria and Survaylah in 1830.
30. Russell, H. P.—was an indigo manufacturer at Rajmahal in 1822 became in 1826 joint Magistrate of Monghyr.
31. Sarson, Charles—was, in 1830 the owner of Nurdah, Khanjarpur and Poorani Sarai (thana Bhagalpur) indigo concerns. At Nurdah, 1300 bighas of land were under cultivation, at Khanjarpur 1000 bighas and at Poorani Sarai 1200 bighas. The total number of permanent establishment at these above three places 49 and those temporary, 14,337.
32. Shaw, W.—owner of an indigo factory at Deodaund with forty bighas of land in 1827 (date of authority, 8th July, 1814).
33. Smith, John Bailee—was in 1830 proprietor of indigo factories at Baniagaon, (Colgong) Rajmahal, Sultangunj, and Bariarpur. The total amount of land under cultivation was 14,691 bighas. The number of permanent establishment was 129 and temporary 2761.
34. Turner, Edward—was a surgeon to the garrison at Monghyr. He held in 1802, 2862 bighas and 5 cottahs of land at Monghyr of which five bighas were used for indigo works and the rest to the cultivation of the plant.
35. Turner, John Luttebury—held in 1802, eighteen bighas of land at Bhagalpur (date of authority 11th January, 1812) and ten bighas at Ghoga (date of authority, 11th January, 1812) with houses and indigo factories erected at both places.

In 1825 he held twenty-four bighas and five cottahs at Colgong (date of authority, 16th Aug., 1793). In 1827 he owned fifty bighas at Aujmabad (date of authority, 14th January, 1812) and twenty-one bighas at Agarpur (date of authority, 14th January, 1812).

(34) Turner, Edward. Appointed an assistant surgeon on the Bengal Establishment, 26 March, 1783, and promoted Surgeon on 27 May(1796. He served in Lake's campaigns and died in England on 30 Dec., 1810. (Crawford's Roll of the I.M.S." No. B 335—wrongly indexed as B. 355).

In 1830 he possessed factories at Colgong, Ghoga, Agarpur (thana Bhagalpur), Lakhipur (Rajmahal), Ekdurrah (Colgong), Miranpur (Colgong) and Ajuma (Colgong). The total land under cultivation at these places amounted to about 15,400 bighas. The number of permanent hands was 179 and those of temporary 25,471.

K. K. BASU.

Soldiers' Dress.

MR. CLENNELL WILKINSON, reviewing in the "London Mercury" Sir John Fortescue's "History of the British Army" is inclined to carp about the historian's confession that "It is this, the political not less than the military aspect of the Army's history, that I have endeavoured to elucidate."

The reviewer is of opinion—"Yet what is more obviously "of true military interest" than "dress, armament and equipment"? Readers of the History "would have liked many more technical details as to the equipment of that English expeditionary force—all dressed in the new red uniforms—which the Protector sent to France in 1657 to help our dangerous neighbour against an enfeebled Spain."

But was that the first time British soldiers wore red?

Julius Ferretus, a writer of the middle of the 16th century, in his "Treatise of the Military Science," says that soldiers commonly wore a short red sagum, or frock, which colour was chosen that they might not be discouraged by the sight of blood from their wounds."

Queen Elizabeth ordered that a thousand horsemen be sent to the assistance of the Low Countries, and among their apparel they were "furnished of red clokes." That may account for the red cloaks of the 2nd Life Guards who certainly wore them fifty years ago, and up to 1914 all British cavalry-men had cloakes lined with red.

What is really startling to the casual student is the importance given to "battles" which, at best, were little better than ragged scraps where few men were hurt. "The East Indian Army Magazine" for April, 1853, gives this surprising piece of information:—

"In twenty two years of constant warfare including the Peninsular and Waterloo, the annual average of Officers and Men killed was only 730, and of wounded 3150, for the whole British Army." One can hardly consider a mortality of less than 61 per month "much worth writing home about."

It is fairly obvious that, like other fashions, dying in battle had a different aspect years ago from that it had between 1914-1918. In the previous "wars" soldiers fought as gentlemen, and when winter came they went into winter quarters, animated, no doubt, by that philosophy expressed by the West Indian soldier who said. "Too cold for brave today." Fighting was bad enough but to have to contend with dirty weather was a horse, not only of another colour, but of a different breed. It gives one a tickling sensation under the arms to read of officers at the Siege of Seringapatam in 1792 being mentioned in despatches for "steadyding the rear rank." One is more than

half inclined to ask—"Now what the * * * *? but it was a famous victory, so, at least, we have been told.

This chapter is not about sudden death and glory but about dress—clothes make the man, but then they more than made the soldier.

According to Sir John Fortescue—"At the end of the fifteenth century we find an allowance for "coat-money," that is to say, for a white coat (probably a canvas smock) with the red cross of St. George sewn upon it from collar to skirt."

The following paragraphs from Colonel Henry Davison Love's "Vestiges of Old Madras 1640-1800" tell their own story:—

"The garrison seems to have been as innocent of uniform as of barracks. In December 1672, it occurred to the Company that, if uniforms were provided, the Native princes might be inspired with emulation, and so afford a market for the Company's woollen cloth:—

THE COMPANY TO FORT ST. GEORGE.

'It being found here in Europe very necessary and convenient for the Soldiers to have coates of one collour, not only for the handsome representation of them in their exercise, but for the greater awe to the adversary, besides the encouragement to themselves, wee have thought requisite that our Soldiers with you should bee put into the like habitt, for though it be hott in the daytime, yet the night being coole, (and in times of raine) it may bee a meanes to preserve their healthes.

"And this example probably may begett a vent of our cloth, if the practize will take with the Princes of the Country to put their Regiments and Companies into Cloth Coates of severall collors; wherefore wee desire you to consider hereof, and if you find it may in any reasonable manner answer our expectacions, wee would have you give the Soldiers so much of our ordinary sorts of Cloth gratis as will make them such coates for a beginning, which wee conceive will last them severall yeares or, if you judge cloth may be too thick, you may make use of perpetuanoes," (a kind of woollen cloth manufactured in England, so called from its durable quality) "and cause the turning up of the coate sleeves to be faced with something of a different coler." (13th December, 1672.)

The officials in Madras replied:—"Wee likewise omitted to acquaint you how necessary it were that we had the authority of Martiall law during these warrs, without which it is very difficult to keep your men to the strictness of discipline, and which both French and Dutch have full power for.

"The bestowing of coates upon your Souldiers would be very creditable, and so we understand it is already in practise at Bambayn; but the proportion of the English being so small in respect to the Portuges and Mestizos, unless we have the same to all it would rather show our weakness than our strength;" (20th September 1673.)

Another letter dated 1678, from which it appears that native dress was often donned by Europeans:—

"It is likewise ordered that both the Officers and Souldiers in the Fort shall on every Sabbath day, and on every day when they exercise, weare English apparrell; in respect the garb is most becoming as Soldiers, and correspondent to their profession; in penalty of forfeiting one months allowance on the Officers part, and half a months allowance on the Private Souldiers part."

In 1679 "The uniform of the garrison appears to have been red with green facings:—

"And whereas there was some Perpetuanoes sent out last yeare, and some this yeare which will not sell, It is thought fitt to cloth the Soldiers with the Redd ones at 7 fanams per yard, "nearly eighteenpence) "and line the said Cloathes with Callico Dyed green, and the Mony for the said Cloathing to be stopt out of their pay, the English in 4 months and the Portugez in Six Months. (14th July, 1679.)

What the soldiers had to say about wearing clothing that would'nt wear out is possibly unprintable in these less barbaric days.

That generous custom seems to have been religiously continued in the British Army until December 31, 1937 (a fitting day to bring anything to an end). Home Cables reported—"In the House of Commons, Lord Stanley the Under-Secretary of State for India, replying to Mr. Grahame White, said that the Government of India had accepted the principle that a soldier on transfer to India should pay nothing for the first issue of compulsory tropical clothing."

It is rumoured that this came about through calling out Army Reservists to protect Jews in the Unholy Land, and charging them for the khaki they would wear while away from their wives and children. Was that bit of extortion any less contemptible than the action of the (Honourable) East India Company in 1671 who "decreed that their soldiers (in Bombay) were to be paid for 28 days in the month, thus slicing off a week's pay in the quarter to the troops great discontent."

The military mind was not always lost in the realms of humbug. The Engineering services were certainly up to date and when one remembers that it has been the invariable custom to "do" the soldier out of every miserable farthing he was supposed to get, the money essential for efficiency was always deficient. You cannot take a quart out of a pint pot, neither is it easy to make a silk purse out of unsuitable material, but when it comes to a competition in inefficiency, politicians can generally give soldiers two stone and a beating.

In the days when soldiers wore gigantic head dresses, the idea of that was not all for show. It was claimed that that took the eye, and therefore caused the bullets of the enemy to go high—which is what would be likely to happen.

Sir John Fortescue states that "Army dress began to be changed after 1800 by the gradual substitution of a shako for the cocked hat, a coatee for

the long-skirted coat, and trousers for breeches and gaiters. The truth is, that civilians had begun to wear tall hats, tail-coats and trousers, and that the army could not be behind the fashion."

It was long before comfort or utility was considered. When the 15th Foot were in Ceylon, their medical officer, Dr. Lamprey published a pamphlet showing the unfitness of various articles of dress. "He found the heat inside a shako, which a man had worn in the sun to be 117 and he found the same temperature inside the breast part of a coat of a man standing in the sun."

From officers' accounts of their first arrival in India there did not appear to be any great regard for uniformity or for the fit of clothes.

In "Memoirs of a Cadet" (By a Bengalee) published in 1839 the writer expresses his mortification after staying at Spences Hotel when he and another cadet went to report themselves to the Town Major at Fort William. "He equipped himself in a scarlet Swiss jacket with sword and sash conform. He had, in fact, been provided in Leadenhall Street with a cadet's uniform jacket and now started forth in dazzling blaze before my humiliated sight."

"The sirdar saw the merits of the case with that quickness of perception for which the natives of India are so remarkable, and whispered in my ear the soothing promise, that with my permission he would produce a tailor who should "do for master in two day."

We know those clothes and the anxious *durzie* trying on a coat that made the wearer look as if he had had a paralytic seizure, while he assured critics that if a "couple of fingers" were taken out of the back it would be all right.

"Bengalee" could not wait so long as two days so "I tied on a sash, the only article of military furniture then belonging to me, over my plain English dress, and sallied forth to put in execution a little plan I had devised. My errand was purely experimental, and the motive was to appropriate to myself as many salutes as might be offered to the badge I wore. With doors wide open and watchful as a lynx on both sides, I traversed the fort, nor was I unrewarded; although thoughtless private soldiers mostly allowed me to pass without capping, there were still some goodnatured sergeants and corporals who much obliged me by saluting. . . . As to the Sepoys, they left me nothing to wish for. In those days they were too civil by half, and would acknowledge anything with a sash on in Fort William."

When his *durzi* made suit came along the *durzi* remarked, with apparent exultation, "Now master look respectable, like captain." which led to a rupee *bacsheesh* "on the spot."

The extraordinary thing is that while military and millinery details were flagrantly disregarded, nobody seemed to ridicule the wearers. Toleration in dress, cleanliness, (or the want of it) and education, was rampant in those good old days of inefficiency clothed in tawdry finery.

"Williamson writes of a gentleman's dress before 1800:—

"In many instances these evening visits are paid in a very airy manner; coats being often dispensed with; the gentlemen wearing only an upper and

an under waistcoat both of white linen and the former having sleeves. Such would appear an extraordinary freedom, were it not established by custom, though it generally happens that gentlemen newly arrived from Europe, especially the officers of His Majesty's regiments, wear their coats and prefer undergoing a kind of warm bath of the most distressing description both to themselves and to their neighbours; but in the course of time, they fall in with the local usages, and though they may enter the room in that cumbrous habbit, rarely fail to divest themselves of it as soon as the first ceremonies are over, in favor of an upper waistcoat which a servant has in readiness." Lord Valentia in 1804, states that English black alpaca began to be considered more fashionable and soon superceded the white linen waistcoat. There was one singular article of dress, to which Grand Pre alludes. He says—"To be secure from the attacks of musquitoes it is the custom to wear within doors, if one stays any time, whether for meals or any other purpose, paste board round the legs."

Pasteboard leggings have been worn in my time but one reads there was sometimes an alternative in the shape of a new arrival who attracted mosquitoes and also other guests who strove for the comfort of his company at dinner.

In the days when, according to Mr. F. J. Hudleston, (Librarian of the War Office)—"Each Colonel of a Regiment managed it according to his own notions, or neglected it altogether, there was no uniformity of drill or movement; professional pride was rare; professional knowledge still more so."

Quoting a Sergeant, "the anonymous author of "The Eventful Life of a Soldier," (1827) who recalled how, "when he enlisted, the soldier was "one of the veriest slaves existing, his hair soaped, floured and frizzed, with his mousquet to burnish, his white breeches to pipeclay, so that it took three or four hours' hard work to get ready for parade, where, if a single hair stood out of its place, extra drill would be given him by his superiors, who seemed to look upon him as a brute with neither soul or feeling."

John Shipp gives an account of how he had his hair "tied". A large pad filled with sand was poked into the back of his head round which the hair was gathered tight and tied with a leather thong.

By an order of the Cammander-in-Chief dated 12th October 1810, "Clubs and queues" were abolished in all ranks of the army, and "the hair is in future to be cut close to the neck; no powder to be worn on duty."

After that the soldier also perhaps his officer, did not walk about with a head full of undesirable aliens although the old hands always full of that military ardour which makes most fuss of those things that least matter, probably went about regretting that the Service had gone to the devil.

The Commander-in-Chief, having noticed the unmilitary dress in which some officers had indulged, issued an order under date 20th November 1827, on the subject of these "fanciful deviations" in the following words:—

"White jackets and white cravats are forbidden to be worn by an officer at any time out of quarters, and he is strictly prohibited from appearing publicly in any other dress than is authorised by the regulations of the service.

Silk or crape jackets and trousers are also prohibited ; broad cloth being the established material of which officers' clothing is to be made ; 'all deviations from established regulations, whether in quality or fashion, are prohibited. * * * "Should officers disregard these orders and appear again in whict cotton jackets, or fancy clothing of any kind, the Commander-in-Chief will prohibit the shell jacket and forage cap being worn, and order them to appear at all times in the uniform established for the parade." A month after, this order was so far modified that, "in consideration of the climate" officers of all arms were permitted (except when dressed for duty or on parade) "to wear white trousers in dress or undress throughout the year."

The following story shows light on the military eccentricities and incapacity of the day. Colonel Bolton, who commanded the 31st Foot at the Battle of Mookdee, was in such a hurry to get there that, forgetting his men were not on horses, got so far ahead that when close up to the sound of guns he looked behind to see what had become of his warriors. A "mere handful" had been able to keep up with him.

"In those days the men had to wear high and stiff leather stocks to keep their chins up and their heads still, about as absurd an article as can be imagined for a man to fight in. On this occasion the Colonel was quite wild at the straggling of the men (as if they could help being done up, poor fellows!) and he observed one of them with his stock off.

"What do you mean, Sir?" he said. "Put your stock on immediately!" I was standing close to the man and observed a wild expression come over his worn face. For a moment I thought he was going to shoot the Colonel ; then he put his head on the muzzle of his firelock and blew his brains out. I don't know how the Colonel felt, but it gave me a very ugly turn." (Colonel J. P. Robertson's "Adventures of an old Officer," p. 51.)

The stock was not abolished until during the Crimean War (1854), when the War Minister, the Duke of Newcastle urged Lord Raglan, in command of the forces in Russia, to abolish the stock and the razor, which was duly done. There is a human touch about the following—"Mr. Filder should ascertain what porter the Guards are accustomed to drink, and Mr. Grant should be requested to get that particular kind of porter."

General Simpson was sent out to report on things in general and the report duly came back—"We are in a regular fix." Possibly, however, to remedy this, he issued an order:—"Sheepskins, buffalo robes, fur caps, long boots and red comforters tend to license in dress and appearance." As Mr. Hudleston puts it—"It does not appear to this most amiable of martinets that they also tended to warmth."

In "Soldiering in Sunshine and Storm" by William Douglas, Private 10th Royal Hussars, published in 1865 he relates:—

"We sailed from England in May 1846, and after a prosperous voyage of four months, landed at Bombay. Our destination was about a hundred miles up the country, to Poonah, the capital of the Deccan."

After a few days in Bombay "The first day's march was to Panwell, a village about twenty-two miles from Bombay. It was the commencement of the monsoon; so marching was far from pleasant, especially as most of us soldiers were without shoes, light clothing, beds or blankets. Some had bought white trousers on landing, but they were the exception, not the rule. However, what with the rain that poured so steadily down upon us, and the state of the road—which was at that time intersected about every quarter of a mile by a watercourse from two to four feet deep, through which we had to wade—it was of little consequence whether our trousers were good, bad, or indifferent; and boots and shoes would have been of little use, in fact an encumbrance."

He goes on to say that they "were very careless, eating and drinking whatever we fancied." The regiment had few casualties by sickness during the seven days' march; for "although we were close on eight hundred strong, fresh to the country, and above all, marching in rain and through water, lying in wet clothes on damp ground, yet we only lost two men from cholera. A deal of credit was however due to our colonel, who had always the commissariat and cooks sent on the night before, so that on our arrival in camp, a ration dram of arrack and a hot breakfast awaited us."

That the old-time soldier didn't bother much about boots is shewn by a story told by William Douglas, when the regiment was at Khandalla. A sergeant bet anyone two rupees that they would not "descend the ravine in front, and gain the summit of a precipice that was apparently not more than half a mile from where we sat. This challenge was promptly accepted by two men, who, just as they were, without either shoes or caps, started off to attempt the feat."

The extent to which discomfort in dress was carried can be seen from the following:—

"Dress and Accoutrement:—The last few years have seen many improvements in the dress of the soldier, both in Europe and in India, but there is still much to be done. The absurdity of his dress not being allowed to vary in different climates has slowly become apparent. It is a matter of common remark that changes in military dress are made much more according to the taste of commanding officers, than according to any rules of Hygiene.

"The prevailing fault in all uniforms is that they impede the free action of the chest and constantly press on the neck. these are no trifling inconveniences: they affect most materially the health of the soldier, their tight coats with straps and cross-belts are eminently adapted to prevent free exercise of their lungs, and favour the development of heart disease. The black leather stock, of exactly the same size for a man with a long or a short neck, by constricting the jugular vein, impedes the return of blood from the head, while the ordinary forage cap offers no protection to the head from the sun, or to the eyes from the glare of the light. It is well known how the occurrence of COUP DE SOLEIL is favoured by any pressure about

the neck. A Queens Regiment was marching late in the morning over some of the sandy wastes near Ferozepore, when some of the men 'fell down, and it was found that they were all men who wore their stocks tight around their necks: the story goes, and it is no doubt true, that the men were ordered to take off their stocks, and got through the remainder of their march without any further accident. "In one action in China, thirteen men of one regiment, lately arrived from home, and which entered the field buttoned up to the throat, with leather stocks and forage caps on, fell down dead." We have heard that many of the cases of COUP DE SOLEIL which occurred at our last capture of Rangoon, were mainly attributable to imperfect covering of the head."

East India Army Magazine and Military Review. No. 3, 1853 (page 355).

Yet another reference:—

"Let us now examine the dress of the soldier in India, somewhat more in detail. The ordinary forage cap of the European soldier, or Kilmarnock bonnet—is, as every one knows, a very slender protection to the head. It, has, however, been greatly improved of late years, by a judicious order of Lord Gough, which allows the men to roll cloth round it somewhat in the fashion of a native turban. It still however gives no protection to the eyes. If there were a good front attached to it, we think this head dress would not leave much to be desired. The Albert cap, though by no means graceful, is a great improvement on the old shako; is comfortable enough, and may do very well for parades and reviews, but should never be worn on service. The 24th Queens entered the field of Chillianwalla wearing it, but speedily threw it away. But the best of all head-dresses, and one equally fit for show and service, would be a modification of the common Sir C. Napier's cap, or helmet, now so generally worn in India.

"As regards coats, the introduction of white jackets in place of the hot red coat during the hot months, has been a great improvement, and it assimilates the men in appearance a good deal to the Austrians."

"Infantry—Heavy Marching Order, according to latest orders for Queens Troops.

1 Dress Cap, 1 Forrage Cap, 1 coatee, 1 cloth shell jacket, 4 white ditto, 1 pair cloth trowsers, 1 pair English summer trowsers, 1 pair blue cotton ditto, 5 pairs white ditto, 5 white shirts, 2 check ditto, 3 flanel waistcoats, 2 flanel bands, 6 pairs socks, 4 cotton 2 worsted, 1 stock and clasp, 2 pairs braces, 3 pairs boots 2 towels, 1 hair comb, 1 hair brush, 1 razor brush, and soap, 1 clothing brush, 2 shoe brushes, 1 knife, fork, and spoon, 1 turn screw, worm, &c., 1 holdall for small articles, 1 knapsack and strap, 1 haversack, 1 button stick and brush, spoon, straps for carrying great coat, gun stopper, mess tin and cover."

"Light Marching Order.—

Canteen and Haversack, 1 shirt, 1 pair trowsers, 1 pair socks, 1 flanel waistcoat, the above to be carried under great coat by slings of knapsack.

"Friends have favoured us with the two following memorandums:—

"Memo. Showing the weight of the arms, Accoutrements, Ammunition and clothing, a soldier may be called upon to carry to India. Knapsack, coatee 2 changes of clothing, 1 pair of boots, small articles, great coat,

canteen and cover (about) ...	...	...	...	21 lbs.
Musket and bayonet ...	...	...	...	11 lbs. 5 ozs.
Accoutrements with 10 rounds of ball cartridge ...	...	...	...	6 lbs. 8 ozs.
Total ...				38 lbs. 13 ozs.

Memo.—Weight of the following articles :

1 Musket, bayonet, pouch and set of belts, all complete ...	16 lbs. 12 ozs.
1 shell jacket, pantaloons, shirt, stock leath, pair of boots, haversack dress cap, drawers, 1 pair socks cap cover ...	81 lbs. 6 ozs.
Total weight ...	25 lbs. 2 ozs.

In addition to the above, 10 rounds of balled ammunition and 12 percussion caps will weigh 1 lb.

KHAKI.

When the connexion between British Officers and the Indian Army is a thing of the past, three articles of military dress of what will most certainly be regretfully looked back upon as the "good old days" for the Indian soldier will help to keep memories green—Khaki—Sam Browne Belts—and Puttees.

Khaki, from the Persian "Kak" (dust) came into general use during the 1880's in the shape of an ill-fitting pull-over blouse with three bone buttons. In Mediterranean stations it was worn outside ordinary uniform. The soldiers I saw at Gibraltar and Malta when on my way home in 1889 looked worse dressed than convicts. In Calcutta, no soldier was permitted to appear in Khaki when the band was playing in the Eden Gardens.

Its utility was fully recognised, but as a fast dye was not discovered, or was not in general use until the 1890's troops generally had a piebald appearance. All sorts of expedients were tried. One regiment, The Buffs, I believe, boiled white drill in tea. Other regiments, more economically inclined, used cowdung which was said to cause ringworm, dhobie itch, and other skin diseases. While khaki was unpopular, it broke down many restrictions imposed upon soldiers who were often expected to turn out perfectly dressed even on the rifle range.

An officer who served with the Royal Welch Fusiliers whose rank I do not know,—T. Hemsley—in a letter to the press claimed to be among the

first to dye the white drill of the regiment when they were stationed in Dum Dum in 1882. "Curiously enough, I used a recipe given me by an ex-soldier of the Guides. We first boiled naspal (pomegranate peel) then added kasees (copperas) peela mutti (yellow ochre) and so got the required shade. Of course this was not a permanent dye, and was discontinued when the Elgin Mills, Cawnpore, discovered one that was permanent." Which looks as if that story was correct so far as it went. (and no farther.)

The popular idea is that khaki was first used in the Second Afghan War of 1878-80, but Sir Harry Lumsden, who raised the Corps of Guides in 1846 clothed them in dust, or mud-colored clothing known then as khakee. In 1856, when troops from India went to Persia, all officers while proceeding up the Persian Gulf wore khaki. They took cover when expecting to be fired at, but calmly smoked their hookahs.

Although it took half a century to obtain full recognition, it was generally worn during the Abyssinian campaign. The Egyptian "Show" of 1882 saw khaki in general use, much of it dyed, so it was said, in tobacco juice, but that, for the Army looks too expensive to be true.

In "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India: in 1857-58" Captain Oliver J. Jones, R. N. who seems to have spent his time galloping about like a spare general, traverses to some extent the popular belief that soldiers during the Mutiny wore brass helmets and red coats.

On pag 160 he relates. "Among others whom I met up there (Dilkooshah) and chatted with for several days before I knew who was my acquaintance, was a very agreeable, intelligent, good-natured, stout, middle-aged gentleman, dressed in the carky colour worn by half the army, and who I concluded to be an engineer officer stationed there to observe the movements &c., of the enemy.

"It was not until I got quite intimate with him and looked out regularly to have a yarn with him for some days that one of my friends said to me, "Do you know who that is you have just been talking to?" "Not the least idea," says I. "Dear me! why, that is Mr. Russell of the *Times*."

There is a further reference in page 189. The Sikhs and 10th Foot "chased the enemy right into their defences, who, taking alarm at the sight of the red and karky jackets, bolted in all directions."

The reference to Russell is interesting. It was said that he "gave away so much information in the columns of "The Times" that the Russian statesman Gortchakov said he was the best spy the Russian Secret Service possessed. On the other hand, it was largely due to him that the British forces did not all end in the cemeteries." If they were less efficient in those good old days, they were obviously more truthful, for you cannot today believe anything you read unless it is first contradicted in the papers.

The following letter throws much more light on the "Khaki Controversy" but it is doubtful if the dates are quite correct. Certainly, in 1887, the best

khaki seldom stood fast against perspiration and a hot sun ; and despite what Mr. Gatty asserts, the fast dye did not come in until the 1890's. Nevertheless, his letter is most informative.

Mr. Philip Gatty, in January 1930 wrote an interesting letter to one of the London Sunday papers which is worth quoting in extenso. He states :—

"About 1882 a Mr. John Leemann was travelling in India, and was introduced to Major-General (then Colonel) A. A. Kinloch who was in command of the King's Royal Rifles.* Colonel Kinloch told Mr. Leemann that a fortune awaited anyone who was able to invent a khaki dye which would be fast both to light and washing, and upon his return to England Mr. Leemann consulted my grandfather, Mr. Frederick Albert Gatty, with regard to the possibility of such an invention. After a period of experiment, my grandfather, who was an exceedingly clever chemist, perfected the dyestuff now universally known as mineral khaki, and took out Patent No. 11456 for his process in 1884. Sample pieces were sent to Colonel Kinloch, and so pleased was he that he ordered sufficient to clothe the regiment he commanded. After some months' wear he paraded his regiment, and demonstrated to other officers that in spite of numerous washings and very stringent tests, the uniforms were still of exactly the same shade. So impressed were they that Mr. Leemann, who had now joined Messrs E. Spinner & Co., was able to secure sufficient orders to justify the starting of a works devoted solely to the dyeing of khaki. Messrs E. Spinner & Co. were appointed the sole agents for Leeman and Gatty's khaki, and their productions enjoy a world-wide reputation, as is shown by the following, which appeared some time ago in an Indian paper :—

"Oh the Dashty-Dash were a Khaki Corps,
And nothing but Khaki dress they wore ;
And every evening they sat down to dinner,
With the whole of their Messkit provided by Spinner.
They wore Khaki jackets and Khaki "bags,"
And in lieu of pocket handkerchiefs Khaki rags ;
They had Khaki boots (which you need not clean),
And a Khaki tie which was scarcely seen ;
They had Khaki cloth and Khaki braid,
And the board with a Khaki cloth was laid ;
And the pride of their kit was a Khaki shirt,
Which you need not wash, for it would not show dirt."

B.B.

Mr. Gatty concluded his letter by stating—"I regret I cannot tell you exactly when or where this originally appeared, nor who wrote it, beyond the initials."

* Major A. A. Kinloch, 60th Rifles, was on the Presidency Brigade Staff in 1882.

The glorious days of Queen Victoria's Jubilees seem very far back when you try to recall them and when I read—"The Jubilee Anniversary of Her Majesty's reign was celebrated throughout India on the 16th and 17th of February, 1887, with "tumult and acclaim" amidst universal rejoicings, and with every circumstance of splendour and display." I brought back to memory the Jubilee in Rangoon.

Festivities began there with a parade of troops in garrison. The British unit was the Royal Scots Fusiliers with a number of details from regiments busy in Upper Burma dacoit hunting. With a couple of Madras infantry regiments it was quite a respectable show.

In those days khaki jackets were cut to a standard length of 28 inches. Six footers and five footers all had the same length. The Fusiliers, short and stumpy as most Lowland regiments were, had plenty of baggage behind which the Highland jacket showed up more than it ought. As they marched past, spines arched, chins and ears drawn well back, rifle straight up at the "shoulder," (not sloped) the forefinger of the right hand pointing rigidly down the seam of the trousers, (it was a military crime to swing your arms in those warlike days) the effect upon the onlookers was remarkable. Then, further to show fitness for war, the performance was repeated. The troops, by companies, trotted by at the "double," while the Burmese, men and women, light-hearted people, laughed until they rolled on the ground. They had never seen anything so really funny in all their lives. That, to them, was the Jubilee—a real one.

A man who spent many years in Persia said the same sort of thing happened there. German instructors were lent to reorganise the Persian army. After the Teutons had licked those most unmilitary ease-loving people into looking something like soldiers, the Shah was asked to inspect them.

The instructors, huge, heavy fellows turned out in uniforms that looked as if the wearers had been rigidly bound in miles of adhesive tape which had been allowed to set. When they strutted on to the parade ground and started bellowing like the Bull of Bashan it was too much for the Persians. They shrieked with laughter. Many became hysterical having to be led away, perfectly helpless.

The traveller, Arminius Vambery relates that while he was in Tabriz in 1860 Cerutti, the Italian ambassador passed through there on his way to Teheran with an embassy of twenty five members, and, two hours distant from the town they put on their best attire, and entered the town in their "highly ornamental uniforms and costumes, their breasts resplendent with the insignia of various orders, in plumed helmets and magnificent swords."

He went into the crowd to hear what they had to say about the Italians. "During the whole procession, I heard nothing but ironical remarks, the Persians looking upon things considered by us to be splendid, as ridiculous. According to their notions, our short coats, fitting the body, are the most indecorous things, without any taste, and everything that is plain, tight-fitting, or unassuming in dress looks to them mean and insignificant."

Looking at it squarely, there is much that is ridiculous in gorgeous uniforms, gold lace, ribbons, feathers, millinery and ironmongery which we consider proper for soldiers' dress. Even after thinking it out it comes as a bit of a shock to find our ideas of dignity and propriety sending less cultured people into spasms of hysterical laughter.

SAM BROWNE BELTS.

Sam Browne Belts were invented by General Sir Samuel Browne, V.C., G.C.B., K.C.I.E., an old East India Company's officer who saw service in 1848 and won the Victoria Cross in the Mutiny. A soldier historian (Major-General W. A. Watson) wrote this about him:—"Sham-brun-Sahib, as he was called by Indian soldiers, was at the Relief of Lucknow and in the subsequent cleaning up he attacked the enemy's guns at Phillibit and personally engaged the gunners in a hand-to-hand fight. They closed round him, wounded him in the knee, then severed his left arm at the shoulder. His horse was wounded in the head, reared, and then fell back on him. His sowars rescued him and there was no question about the V. C. When he recovered he taught himself to do as much with one arm as most men can do with two. He invented contrivances to enable him to shoot, play billiards, or to kill a salmon; but for all his prowess as a leader of men, or a sportsman, he is best known to fame as the inventor of the SAM BROWNE BELT."

In 1879, during the Second Afghan War he commanded the Peshawar Valley Field Force and was conspicuous by wearing what was considered to be an irregular piece of equipment to be known later as the "Sam Browne Belt."

His son, Brigadier-General S. D. Browne states that his father invented the belt at Bunnoo when commanding the 2nd Panjab Cavalry. "My father's own belt was worn by him until his departure from India in 1879, and is now with his old regiment. A similar one in all respects was part of my kit when I received my commission in 1882. This, the only one I ever had, is still in my possession, and is of the same pattern introduced by Lord Roberts when Commander-in-Chief in India for use by the army out there in 1885.

"This pattern, with one or two slight modifications and the addition of another shoulder belt, was adopted by the War Office during the South African War in October, 1900."

It was said, that, to avoid any imputation of undue influence, no officer under his command was permitted by the gallant old gentleman to wear the belt, although officers of the 4th Battalion, Rifle Brigade, fitted themselves with them after Sir Sam Browne left India.

In the early 1880's Cuthbertson & Harper, (a Calcutta firm still in existence), appears to have had the agency for they advertised the "Sir Sam Browne Belt," an innovation indeed for those less-assertive days.

The idea of the belt must have originated in India where it was always customary to support swords by a sash slung over the shoulder. Most articles of soldiers' equipment have been changed since Sir Sam Browne's day, but his belts are worn by the sword carriers of the world. It may not

be too much to say that it will be worn by soldiers two hundred years hence, even though swords and pistols will be out of date.

Had the idea been patented there would have been a fortune for the inventor, but it is fairly safe to believe that General Sir Sam Browne never made a penny out of it.

PUTTEES.

It is curious how little was known of PUTTEES in Europe up to the South African War of 1900. A man home on sick leave from there was wearing a pair in the streets of London when he found himself an object for sympathy. A man on a ladder called to his mate with the shovel "Blimy, Joe! That pore bloke's been and gone and copped it in both legs."

Puttees have too many defects to rank in the same street with the Sam Browne although both are often worn together. They take too long to put on, have a tendency to impede circulation, and are responsible for skin and other troubles.

In the early 'Eighties they were an abomination to the private soldire. In 'smart' regiments they were wound round the leg in the artistic way hatters put a pagri on a helmet, with the folds in a perpendicular line back and front. It was impossible to make a job of it without assistance. Tooth-brush handles were much in demand for making the twists in the exact places, but even under skilled hands it took twenty minutes to wind them in that pretty way so dear to the military mind. Puttees were not "cut on the turn" as they are today, but straight pieces of coarse cloth which had to be twisted tight round the leg otherwise they slipped down; they caused more crime than drink and the craze for beauty round the legs was discontinued.

UMBRELLAS.

Few articles devised for the protection and comfort of mankind can compare with the umbrella. A writer to the *London Times* stated—"One of the first Englishmen to persist in the regular use of an umbrella was the traveller and philanthropist Jonas Hanway. (1712-86).

"His eastern travels familiarized him with the umbrella and doubtless suggested its great desirability for use in a wet climate . . . Sincerely and heartily wishing the general good and convinced that it needed only to be thoroughly known to be adopted, Jonas Hanway persisted in using an umbrella in the streets of London when the practice was regarded as an absurd peculiarity; he must have suffered a great deal of ridicule for doing so in a popular picture of the period may be believed, which represents Hanway walking along a street on a rainy day with people on both sides of the road stopping to smile at him and point a mocking finger."

In the East the umbrella takes high place among marks of distinction. The titles of the King of Siam give—"King of the North and the South, Descendant of Buddha, Supreme Arbiter of the Ebb and Flow of the Tide, Brother of the Moon, Half-brother of the Sun, and Possessor of the Twenty-four Golden Umbrellas."

When Governor-Generals, or Governors drive in State to official functions in India the scarlet and gold umbrella can be seen. It certainly catches the eye and gives importance and dignity to those immediately under it. Two hundred years ago the umbrella was considered far too distinctive for unimportant people, for an order, issued in 1754, warned youngsters on a few rupees a month that "the use of a "chatteh" or rather "the services of a chatteh-wallah were prohibited" by the East India Company. "Roundell-boys" used to protect their master from the rays of the sun with his "Roundell" or umbrella. "A young fellow of humour, on this order coming out, altered the form of his umbrella from a round to a square, called it a "Squardel" instead of a "Roundell" and insisted that no order yet in force forbade the use of it." *Calcutta Review*, No. 255, January 1909.

The more one reads about British-Indian military history the more one feels that the most ignorant, and the most obstinate in ideas opposed to common sense were our doctors. Dr. Walford writing about his first few days in Calcutta, relates how near to being a dead man he was by just putting his head into the sun light for a few seconds. He was obviously alarmed by his superior officer who was, beyond belief, frightened of the sun.

"At daybreak, which occurred about 5 a.m., the morning gun from the bastions of Fort William suddenly awoke me. All the "animated nature" of Calcutta seemed promptly roused by that wonted summons; crows, and minas, and jays, obeyed it, and began a-cawing

"On descending towards the "compound" or courtyard, with the intention of visiting the hospital wards, I found the sun above the horizon; my host of the previous evening (his superior medical officer) bent on the same object. The ground to be gone over did not amount to fifty steps, nevertheless a native held a chatta or palm-leaf umbrella over his head. As we ascended the ample staircase to the wards, he suddenly stopped, for a stream of light found its way through a chink in the venetian blind of the staircase window. It was only a thread of light, but in mine host's eyes it obstructed the way as effectually as if it had been "a long twenty-four." He declined passing, and I suggested the use of an umbrella. But the attendants soon closed up the offending chink with a piece of cotton no bigger than a hazel nut, and we proceeded to the sick beds, attended by a dozen subordinates of Anglo-Indian blood." *Autobiography of an Indian Army Surgeon, or Leaves Turned Down from a Journal*, pp. 75-6.

This fear of the sun affected the wise Sir William Jones who was said to believe in living in semi-darkness. One can understand how the blanched faces of our people living in Calcutta frightened newcomers.

Long associated in Army circles with unmanliness, it comes rather as a surprise to read in Miss Emma Roberts', *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan* that in her day—(between 1820 and 1830) European soldiers "are strictly enjoined not to proceed to the bungalows of their officers on duty, in the heat of the sun, without an umbrella, and it is no uncommon sight to meet a private with a black attendant carrying a chatta (awning) over his head." *Vol. III, p. 41.*

The umbrella is generally looked upon as an emblem of peace, or, at any rate, peacefulness. When you see a man with a Bible in one hand and a sword in the other—look out! But with the sacred Book and an umbrella—well, it is felt that there must be something of the cooing dove about him.

One feature about General Gordon was his habit of carrying an umbrella. General Graham, in wishing Gordon farewell as he was entering the Nubian desert never to return said, "he took my white umbrella, having lost his own." Public sentiment was stirred by the cruel murder of a soldier who carried an umbrella. It was felt that poor Gordon was more a saint than a soldier.

It must be nearly sixty years ago since a wave of contemptuous ridicule swept right through the British Empire when the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, put up an umbrella to save his uniform during a storm of rain. Knowing what we do now about propaganda, it is more than probable that military tailors took a hand in that stunt, the ruin of expensive uniforms and millinery on a wet day being a perfect godsend to those headlong chargers. That, too, was in the days of Jingoism when everybody thought we could fight the Russians. That umbrella gave the millions who suffered from an overstrained sense of manliness a chance to parody the "Great" Macdermott's famous song—

"We don't want to fight,
But by Jingo! if we do,
We've got the Duke of Cambridge
And his unberrella too!"

And now the changing foot of time has brought about a partial revolution. Young Bengalis despise the umbrella their forbears were never without, and Europeans go about in the hottest of weather bareheaded, apparently unharmed, certainly without complaining of headache which should follow useless fortitude. Perhaps the humble labourers in the fields have more sense than either.

H. HOBBS.

Our Library Table

Mohenjo-Daro and the Civilisation of Ancient India with reference to agriculture. By N. C. Chaudhury, M.R.A.S., Dip. Agri. Published by Newman & Co., Calcutta.

In these days of agricultural revival in India, it is gratifying to find that Mr. Chaudhury, an expert in the methods of agriculture himself, has undertaken the task of studying Mohenjo-Daro from the point of view of agriculture. Indeed, as the author himself has observed, the test of a nation's civilisation is its progress in agriculture. To the average eye the archaeological remains at Mohenjo-Daro are striking in that they are too modern. Mr. Chaudhury has succeeded in showing how a wide range of agricultural implements were known to the people of Mohenjo-Daro. The presence of the plough, though of stone, is significant in that it was formerly held that the Aryans first discovered it. But where we might differ from the author is that we are not so sure whether the Aryans learnt the use of the plough from the people of Mohenjo-Daro. The real difficulty of the author has been that he cannot get out of the idea that the civilisation goes back to c. 4000 B.C. The date of the Indus valley civilisation can only be fixed with the help of Mesopotamian chronology. When Sir John Marshall wrote his book, the chronology of Western Asia was in a melting pot. But subsequent discoveries by Sir Leonard Woolly have proved that Mohenjo-Daro has to be placed between c. 2500-2800 B.C. This would leave very little margin for the Aryans to come and settle and then imbibe certain cultural traits from the people of the Indus valley, assuming that the Rig Veda was composed some where in the region of 2500 B.C. Nevertheless, *langula* is a Dravidian word absorbed in the Aryan vocabulary. The author's views about its use in ancient India have been well documented. But the proportionately long stories from the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata regarding the sanctity of the plough seem to be somewhat out of place in this scholarly work. The author has discussed in details, pointing out some technical matters, that cotton could not have been used amongst the early Aryans, and we wholeheartedly endorse the view. But he should have adduced more cogent reasons to show that the climatic condition of the Punjab during the Chalcolithic age was materially different from what it is now there. We must however admit that Mr. Chaudhury has opened up discussion on a branch of the early history of India which has not yet been done by any scholar so far as we know.

S. K. BOSE.

Editor's Note-Book

BY way of celebrating the thirty-first anniversary of the first appearance of *Bengal : Past and Present* under my editorship, I will venture to try my hand once again, on "Leaves from the Editor's Note Book". Being on my last Christmas day in India on privilege leave in the Madras Presidency, I volunteered to conduct the Church Services at some place which otherwise on that festival would be without a Chaplain. The place chosen for me was Cuddalore. At the club I was shown a card-box on which some of the members had carved their names, and among those names was that of H. E. Busteed. During the years in which it was my privilege to be the Editor of *Bengal : Past and Present*, many letters passed between the author of *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, and I do not think that I am presumptuous if I say that, although I never met Dr. Busteed in the flesh, the kindly tone of his letters to me would justify me in writing of him as my friend. In one of these letters, indeed, he made the suggestion that I should be his literary executor, and that suggestion I always regard as an honour, which, though not deserved, was the greatest encouragement in a paper by an acknowledged master, though I never saw "Shelley plain". Since the Fourth Edition of the *Echoes* appeared now nearly thirty years ago many of the gaps in the information, which the Doctor laboured so strenuously to supply, have been filled in, and much that was obscure can now be seen in clear light. The time seems to be approaching when a fifth and revised edition will be required, for Calcutta can not only be interested in the history of its past, but must desire to read the story substantially as Busteed has told it in a work which should be regarded as a classic. In preparation for a revised edition of the *Echoes* much could be achieved by contributors to *Bengal : Past and Present* who would draw attention to still existing gaps in the author's information, for if they be unable themselves to supply what is required, much can be done by defining problems that still have to be solved.

I admit that I myself am not inclined to trace the footsteps of Madame Grand further than Dr. Busteed has traced them in the Fourth Edition of the *Echoes*, but, should others be of a contrary opinion, I venture to call attention to a mention of that lady in Masson's *Le Département des affaires Etrangères*, p. 440. I happened to be consulting that work in order to ascertain whether it is possible to penetrate into the mystery of Semonville's capture by the Austrians when he was on a mission to the Court at Naples—a mission, which

had it not been thwarted by those who should have been Marie Antoinette's protectors, might have led to the liberation of that ill-fated Queen and Madame Elisabeth. Masson (p. 123) cites the *Histoire Secrète du Cabinet de Napoléon Bonaparte* (Paris, 1814) to the effect that Madame Grand left India with Whitehill, and arrived in France in 1784, with '30,000 livres de rentes' given to her by Whitehill, who, it will be remembered, had been dismissed from the Government of Madras, and that Lessart was "eperdement amoureuse d'elle." Antoine de Valdec de Lessart, who had succeeded to the Comte de Mountmorin as minister for foreign affairs, owing to his opposition to the declaration of war with Austria had become detested, and was assassinated by the mob at Versailles on September 9th, 1792. Masson refers to the *Moniteur* of December 1st, but gives no year, in which Madame de Lessart and Madame Grant (sic) claim letters sent to them by "M. Grant, Chef de Patna". The book, to which M. Masson refers, he believes to have been written by Lewis Goldsmith an English Jew, pamphleteer and spy, who, after his expulsion from England, had obtained from Semonville then at the Hague, a passport for Paris, when he produced the *Argus* and *Mémorial Antibritannique*. Dr. Busteed (p. 287) attributes to Lewis Goldsmith, father of Lady Lyndhurst, a book published in London "before and about up to 1808", *The Female Revolutionary Plutarch*. The Catalogue of the London Library attributes to "Stewarton":

The Female Revolutionary Plutarch, 3 Vols., 8vo., 1806.

Memoirs of Talleyrand, 2 Vols., 8vo., 1805.

The Revolutionary Plutarch, 3 Vols. 4th Edn. 1809.

Secret History of the Court and Cabinet of St. Cloud, 1805.

I expect that if any of our readers care to take the pains to collect those works, he would discover in them manifest inconsistencies, but evidence of an infructuous design to make Talleyrand "chanter". Lewis Goldsmith's memory is recognised by the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

I have mentioned Semonville's secret mission to Naples. He was at that time on his way to take up a diplomatic part at Constantinople, and this not unnaturally led to the suspicion that his purpose was to negotiate with the Porte and Beys about trouble for the English in India. Curiously enough it fell to a person, Louis Monneron, whom we meet with in early volumes of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. II, part II, pp. 392, 416, and Vol. IV, 323 *et seq.*) to give warning to this effect to William Wickham. In December, 1798, Francis and Wheler had attacked Hastings for having given permission to Chevalier, the Chief of Chandernagore and Monneron to return on a Dutch vessel to Europe via Suez. Of the hunt for Chevalier by Hugh Eliot we have read in our own pages, and Chevalier's misfortunes in the desert Mr. Fay has described. Monneron returned to Bengal in September 1779 on the St. Antoine "now pretended to be Danish property but understood to belong to Mr. Monneron." He was arrested, but released on parole: we find him charged with having broken it, a misdemeanour for which Barwell was of opinion he

should have been put to death. The *St. Antoine* appears to have been taken over by Bie, the Danish Chief at Serampore, and renamed after his daughter the *Julia Theresa*. The ship got out of the river, and sailed directly for Mauritius without touching any ports on the coast. Monneron was packed off to Europe as a prisoner of war on board the *Ceres*. At the revolution he was a deputy for the *Indes Orientales* at the Constituent Assembly.

On p. 147, Dr. Busteed writes, "In Mrs. Papendieckes' *Court and Private Life in the Times of Queen Charlotte* (1887) to which Mr. Long refers." From this I suspect that the Doctor had not himself referred directly to the memories she wrote in her old age as an alleviation during a long illness. It may have been a failure of the Editor to decipher the lady's writing that led to the name Ramus appearing as Kamus. I think that had Dr. Busteed read the book he would have been tempted to cite some of the many things that Mrs. Papendieck has to say about Zoffany and his family. As to Mrs. Papendieck's trustworthiness the following passage, in which she represents General Claude Martin as the owner of Leeds Castle in Kent, may be quoted:—"Zoffany his two Indian pictures of the Tiger Hunt, himself being introduced seated in all the pomp of Oriental Magnificence, and of 'the Cock Fight. Of the two men standing in the fore ground, whose birds are supposed to have been brought to the cruel sport, one is a portrait of the late Colonel Martin, of Leeds Castle in Kent, who on coming to this country was introduced to the family of his friend Zofanny, whose acquaintance he had made in India. He immediately demanded the hand of Cecilia Zoffany in marriage, she being about sixteen or seventeen years old and beautiful in the extreme. The Colonel was a fine handsome-looking man, amiable and kind-hearted, and of immense property. She, foolish girl, refused this eligible offer, and he retired to his castle disappointed and mortified. He lived secluded, and at his death left his riches to a family of the name of Wykeham, strangers to him, as he had no relation. His castle became a complete ruin." Martin died at Lucknow about ten years after the date Mrs. Papendieck describes him as "the late Colonel." She tells us that Cecilia married Thomas Ham, son of a schoolmaster at Chiswick. Zoffany's grave is at Kew, where Mrs. Papendieck so often resided. That she was an intimate friend of the artist's family we should not doubt, but as truth is stranger than fiction, Mrs. Papendieck is in this matter stranger than both truth and fiction. The Editor in some recent notes has spoken of Mr. Lee Lewis, comedian. On p. 125 of Vol. I of her *Journal* the lady records "We dined sumptuously in King's Street and in the evening went to Covent Garden to hear Lee Lewis' lecture on Heads. Many heads were introduced descriptive of the time 1780." Dr. Busteed in citing Mrs. Papendieck, questions her accuracy.

IN my notes on the Maxtones in India (Vol. LII, p. 34), I mentioned that Anthony Maxtone took part in the secret expedition that left Calcutta in 1800, and when arrived too late in Egypt to take part in the capture of

Alexandria. Since writing these notes I have come across a book which, I think, may not be very well known:—*Memoires relatifs a L' Expedition Anglaise Partie du Bengale en 1800 pour aller combattre en Egypte l' Armee d' Orient* ; Par M. le Comte de Noe, Pair de France, Imprime par autorisation du roi, a l' Imprimerie Royale, 1826. During the French Revolution, the author followed his father in the emigration, and in 1798, obtained a commission in the 10th Regiment of the line destined to serve against Tipu Sultan. He gives an account of the skilful manner in which the Captain of the Convoy the *Pomona* frigate escaped attack by that ill-fated French fleet, which in its attempt to land troops in Ireland, met its fate at the hands of Admiral Sir John Warren. The *Cuffnells*, the ship on which he had suited, was all but shipwrecked on the mouth of the Tagus, and, the delays necessitated by its repair, may have been the cause of De Noes' arriving too late to take part in the conquest of Mysore. The author has much to say to military affairs, but, I think, nothing that is not very well known: nor is there anything in his description of Hindu religion or European life at Calcutta that is worth repeating here. On p. 53 he commences his account of the Secret Expedition, for which, he says, Lord Wellesley commanded preparations to be made in October, 1800. The Sepoys who went on the Expedition, under the command of Major Broughton, belonged to various regiments in Bengal, and had responded voluntarily to an appeal to embark on their service. He tells us that to obviate a religious difficulty sacks of earth were placed on the ships in order that the Indian soldiers might cook their food on Indian soil. The *Suffolk*, commanded by Captain Malcolm, "le meme qui plus tard a la suite des evenemens memorables de 1815, fut stationee comme amiral a Sainte-Helene," was the Convoy. The Comte gives an interesting description of Trincomalee a place, which despite its then ill-fame on account of fever, he admires, and wonders that the Dutch during their long occupation had done so little to develop its resources. After some weeks at Trincomalee, the Expedition was joined by Col. Wellesley [the future Duke] from Madras who had been given the command. "D'autres officers avoient plus de droits a cette marque de confiance ; mais le Colonel estoit pere du gouverneur de l' Inde et ca fut lui qui le nomma a ce commandement" (p. 84). The belief still was that the Expedition was destined for Batavia, and the expectation of the arrival of Admiral Renier and his fleet seemed to account for the delay. Our author gives a long description of Ceylon. He has an observant eye for flora and fauna, and the Indian naturalist may perhaps still find points of interest in his book. In Ceylon he makes a friendship with "M. S. Danniell, pere de l' habile paysagiste," and witnesses in his garden "un jeune boa de dix-sept pieds de long et d'environ dix-huit pouces de circonference" devoured by a python. The book has many interesting coloured lithographed illustrations, but its principal ornament in this respect is one reproduced from a crayon sketch of a palm tree by Samuel Daniell. While still at Ceylon, the members of the Expedition learned that Batavia could hardly be their destination, for the fleet was to navigate the Malabar coast. At last, on March 31, 1801, it entered the waters of Bombay, and there the Expedition found that General Baird had arrived from Calcutta to relieve Colonel Wellesley of the

command. The Comte remarks that the future victor of Assaye "ne parut pas d'abond fort satisfait de ce déplacement ne se doutant pas qu'il dût être l'origine de sa haute fortune militaire." Lucky for him that he did not persevere in what was to a disappointment for the Indian troops.

I DO not purpose to follow the Comte in his account of the doings in Egypt, for obviously the story of the Expedition is worthy of a detailed narration which would require research in the record offices in India, while my present purpose is merely to bring to notice a subsidiary source of information that might perhaps escape the attention of a student in India. The story of the march across the desert is one which only a partaker in the suffering it caused could tell adequately. Our author records that in passing Desdarat some of the Hindu sepoys thought that they recognised several of their deities sculptured on the walls, and that these soldiers, when a Mr. Hamilton, Capt Leake, and Lieut Hayes were despatched on a mission of discovery in upper Egypt, accompanied that expedition. In the same number of *Bengal: Past and Present*, Mr. Maryat Dobie writes of John Leyden and Sir William Burroughs. This is a curious coincidence, as the Comte de Noe has an anecdote to tell of the latter,—William Hickey's *bête-noire*. I will venture on a translation :—

I CANNOT refrain from passing over in silence a rather pleasing anecdote relating to this person. Sir William who had lately been commandant of a company of European Militia of the town of Calcutta, had found it comfortable to wear the costume in Egypt, it being lighter than any other in this fiery climate, and also of more distinctive in a land where his nation had distinguished militarily. He therefore was wearing this uniform on the day when he paid his visit to the Viceroy of whom he had requested an audience, and when I accompanied him in order, according to the order I had received from General Ramsay, I was to present him. During the conversation, the Viceroy asked me what was the rank of the Chevalier Burroughs. I replied that he had no military rank: that he was a Magistrate of the first rank, and a great personage in the Judicial High Court of Bengal. It struck the Viceroy that this quality matched somewhat queerly the Baronet's military costume. But he said to me, 'Why then this uniform? Do your judges in India wear it?' 'We do ourselves', he added, 'make a distinction between men of the law and men of the sword. Just see!' Saying this, he made a *câdy* approach who undeniably, had nothing of a military hand in his get up. Thus, to solve or to get out of this difficulty, I told him that the Chevalier was the *cady el-askeer*, or military judge of Bengal, that appeared to satisfy him.

MRS. FAY writing in 1780, states "on the first day of every term the professional gentlemen all met at a public breakfast, and went then in procession to the Court House." On this De Busted commented: "Fortunately the procession had not far to go, as Hyde lived next to the Supreme Court, in a house on the site of the present Town Hall." (p. 106.) I fancy that it was not till January the 2nd, 1782, that the Supreme Court moved from the Old Court House to the Esplanade. The Doctor describes the wife of Justice Hyde as "a great favourite in social life," but does let us that Mrs. Hyde, whose Christian name was Mary, was a daughter of the Very Rev. Lord Francis Seymour, Dean of Wells, son of the Earl of Somerset. Mrs. Hyde, a descendant of Edward Seymour, Lord Protector of England (executed January 22, 1552 and brother of Queen Jane Seymour), with the Duke of Somerset as her grand-father and the 9th and 10th Dukes as her uncles was therefore naturally a person of considerable social importance. Her grandfather was descended from the Protector by his first marriage, the foregoing Dukes had been descended from his son by second marriage—Edward, Earl of Hereford who married the ill-fated Catherine Grey, sister to the ill-fated Lady Grey. Algernon the 7th Duke and the last of the line descended from the Earl of Hereford, had on the death of his mother, by little Lady Elizabeth Percy, been created Duke of Northumberland. His daughter Elizabeth married Sir Hugh Smitherson, to whom the title of Duke of Northumberland passed. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Hyde married Mr. T. Payne. The eighteenth century Marriage Registers of St. John's, "the Parish Church of Bengal" have been printed in *Bengal: Past and Present*, but, without the advantage which their publication has provided, Dr. Busted owed his information as to the marriages of the Miss Wranghams to Mr. William Foster of the India Office. He has omitted to mention another Miss Wrangham—Sophia, who was married on August 6th to Alexander Macleod of Madras.

DR. KENNETH ROGERS' books on Old London, published by the Homeland Association Ltd., Wellington House, Wellington Street, London, W.C. 2, are indispensable to all students of Pepys and his Diary. In the last *Signs and Taverns Round About Old London Bridge* there is a passage which will be of interest to our readers. "My grandfather, Alexander Rogers kept a diary (in the form of letters) of his journey from Calcutta, November, 1886, till his arrival at Malta, May, 1837. He travelled by small sailing ship round the Coast, to Jeddah, where he stayed (having passed through the Straits of Babel Mandeb on January 21st, 1837), thence by a Turkish ship, the *Fatal Jayat*, on which they embarked on February 21st, but owing to calms and contrary winds took twenty-five days to reach Cosseir!—where we found a Janissary and Cook awaiting there in compliance with previous instructions sent to Waghorn. The party crossed the desert on camels, and on the seventh day arrived at Carnac. At Luxor they went on board the

dahabiyeh arranged for them by Waghorn. "Dr. Rogers writes this in connection with an old Coffee House, the Rainbow, when, according to Tallis's plan of the houses in Cornhill (circa 1840) No. 34 was occupied by "Waghorn & Co. India and Australia Royal Mail Steam Packet Co.—Waghorn & Co. Egyptian Offices." See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, No. 1 for some newspaper cutting concerning Thomas Waghorn contributed by Dr. Busteed. Just a hundred years have passed since Alexander Rogers made that toilsome journey. In seven years time it will be a hundred years since my father, the author of *The Manual for Gardening in India* went to London as a Chaplain in the service of the Honourable East India Company. His book was written six years before I entered this world. When it is recollected that Dr. Nevil Maskelyne was a Lord Clive's brother-in-law, I think that the following words from an epitaph where one was inscribed on my Grandfather's tomb, close to Charles Lamb's in Edmonton Churchyard, is an illustration of the extent to which memories of only three generations can reach:—

THOMAS FIRMINGER, LL.D.

Who died on the 24th of November, 1861,
in the 8th year of his age.

He was the only assistant
Astronomer in the Royal Observatory
at Greenwich with.
Nevil Mackelyne, LL.D.

Astronomer Royal from the year
1779 untill the year 1808.

NEVIL MASKELYNE, born in 1732, was appointed Astronomer Royal in 1765: so the date on the epitaph was wrongly given. The story is told in my family that when King George III, during one of his periods of mental aberrations, visited the Observatory, the Astronomer Royal found it convenient to leave the reception of His Majesty to my Grandfather, whose replies to some absurd questions proved so satisfactory that he had to devise an excuse for not securing the honour of Knighthood at the hands of a king who would probably have forgotten that he had bestowed it. Be this true or otherwise King George III did actually make my maternal Great-great grandfather who happened to be an Admiral, a General into the bargain. And this reminds me to note that Mr. Narendranath Ganguli in his admirable articles on the Calcutta Cricket Club (*B. P. & P.*, Vol. LII, p. 29), writes "there were four Gardiners in the B. C. S. during 1804", and he mentions "the Hon. Edmond Gardiner", whom he says "was the 5th son of the 1st Baron Gardiner." The Baron Gardiner he speaks of was my Great-great-grandfather of whom I have been speaking, but the name is not Gardiner with an *i*: but

GARDNER. I observe that Major Bullock's article on "Some Soldiers of Fortune" in Vol. L. is headed Stewart William Gardiner, but in the body of the article the name is correctly found as Gardner.

IN the recently published Vol. VIII of the Press List of Ancient Documents preserved in the Secretariat Record Room of the Government of Bengal (Series I, Revenue Department, 1779-86, p. 52). I notice an entry of a "Letter from T. Motte, praying that piece of land on which stood the old English factory at Hooghly, may be sold or rented out to him and giving a short history of it from its grant to Job Charnock by the Emperor Aurangzeb to its destruction by Shaista Khan, Naib Nazim of Bengal." Historians would indeed be most grateful to the Government of Bengal if permission could be granted for the publication of a document of so great an interest and importance in the pages of *Bengal, Past and Present*. Another document of far less interest but perhaps of some importance would be the draft of a letter, Sept. 17th, stating the Council's rejection of "Mrs. T. Fenwick's claims for compensation for the lands which have been acquired from her by Government for the Esplanade." (p. 155). In November, 1779 we find Philip Francis on his way to the Council Chamber in his palanquin attacked by a man who was arrested on the spot. William Chambers, the Persian translator sends in a report as to the assailant. The documents connected with the famous Kasijora case are specified, but without the minutes of consultation one cannot get at the reason why the Supreme Board ruled (p. 198) that the Raja was not subject to the authority of the Supreme Court and was therefore at liberty to remove the seals affixed to his effects by the officers of the Sheriff of Calcutta. There are several illustrations of the serious difficulties in which the revenue authorities found themselves involved by the action taken by the Supreme Court. Those who are interested in the history of the printing press in Calcutta will find (p. 201) C. Wilkins in December, 1779 petitioning that he might be granted an extension of the term of his office. It would be interesting to know whether the petition was offered by Francis and Wheler, for it was supported by Hastings, and as it was granted, we may be sure, by Barwell. We find in that year there was an annual grant of Rs. 2,000 for repairs to the fort at Hughli. This volume of the Press List is particularly valuable on account of its enumeration of documents relating to the conflict between the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court of Judicature, a conflict in which Sir John Day, the Advocate General, ranged himself on the side of the Supreme Court. In March, 1780 we have the records relating to the imprisonment of the unfortunate Company's Attorney, North Naylor. Some day perhaps a research student will take up the subject of J. Prinsep's career in India. In 1778, Prinsep was salt agent to Charles Croftes, the Accountant General of the Revenue Department. Here, on April 14, 1790, we find directions given to the Provincial Council at Patna to place Prinsep in possession of copper mines at Rhotas "on condition that he will supply to Government coins in lieu

of the copper produced." Earlier items show him as a manufacturer and indigo planter, possessing lands at Bhatpara. In the same year he petitions "to have the land adjacent to his factory in Calcutta sold to him," and he submits a proposal to build a bridge over the Hughli between Palta and Ghiretta'. The love Cleveland inspired in his collectorate of Bhagalpur to this day has monumental evidence. This volume of the Press List will guide the student who desires to learn something of the secret of Cleveland's renown. Those who have read my *History of Lodge Industry and Perseverance* may be interested to note that on p. 329, H. G. Honeycomb is described, on June 17th, 1780, as "Attorney-at-Law to the Provincial Council of Revenue at Calcutta." In July the Rev. M. Johnson is granted a *patta* "for a plot of land situated to the north of a wall of the Revenue Council House." The initial here surely must be, not M but W, and the person referred to the Rev. William Johnson—the husband of the famous Bibi Johnson. On p. 353 we have "C. Parthenio, an Armenian" who buys plots of land in Armenian Street. I think he must be the same person as the well known Greek Priest, who, according to tradition, Zoffany introduced in his altar-piece at St. John's Church. We catch glimpse of the early British traders into Assam. D. Killican, Secretary to the Board of Trade asks for the exclusive privilege of trade in Assam for four years on payment of Arcot Rs. 50,000 per annum to the Government, and urges for the appointment of a Government servant to protect trade and keep the peace, and this is granted with an undertaking that Mr. Killican's monopoly will be protected by a *chauki* at Rangamati. At that place there was once a Christian Church and it is recorded that Bishop Lainez in 1713 confirmed there more than a thousand native Christians. Killican's indenture was dated July 25, 1780. In August he asks for military assistance, and the Provincial Council at Dacca was directed to maintain a company of Sepoys under the order of a Mr. Baillie at Goalpara. But at that charming spot on the Brahmaputra a factory had already been established by a Mr. George Lear. In long past days I traced the last named gentlemen back to May 1763 when he was sent to Rungpur as Agent for Hugh Watts. In November 1778, Warren Hastings had heard of Lear engaging in hostilities with the people of Assam, and as Goalpara was held to be under Dacca, he directed Charles Purling, the Collector of Rungpur, to enter into correspondence with Mr. Shakspear, the Chief of Dacca. To the first volume of Rangpur collectorate records which I edited for the Government of Bengal in 1914 is prefixed most of Mr. E. G. Glazier's *Report on the District of Rungpore*, and in it will be found an account of these early trades on the Brahmaputra. Killican's agent at Goalpara was Daniel Rausch, whose marriage to a Miss Mayo at Rungpore is recorded in the register at St. John's Church. From a letter I published in *Bengal : Past and Present* (Vol. III, p. 369) it appears that in 1778, at the time when our Government were rounding up all the Frenchmen they could find, a Monsieur Campagnac and a Monsieur Giblot were residing at Goalpara, and Lear was commanded to arrest them. He, according to their account, sent Rausch to beg the Frenchmen to return, promising them that they should suffer no personal loss. A letter from Killican, catalogued collected in the present Press List shows that in December, 1780,

that he has agreed to purchase Lear's factory. On January 1 of the year following H. Baillie, Collector of Goalpara, transmits a bill of exchange drawn by him on D. Killican of Calcutta for Arcot Rs. 12,500 on account of the Company's revenues arising from trade with Assam. Outside the grave yard at Goalpara, close to the road are two graves. One is that of Lieut. William Cresswell, who died of a wound received on an expedition described by Mr. E. A. Gait in his *History of Assam*, in 1794. The other bears inscription. "Beneath this stone are deposited the remains of John and Daniel Rausch born the 24th June, 1783: their existence was limited to the short space of 3 hours."

ON p. 91 of Vol. V of *Bengal: Past and Present* I have in a footnote stated some biographical facts concerning "Francis Hare, Esq. of Council" whose burial at Calcutta took place on May 24th, 1771. The date 1739 given as that of his appointment as a writer is, I regret to say, a misprint. The date 1776 mentioned as that of his application for permission to come down from Chupra is obviously another error. Francis Hare was a member of a very interesting family. His father was Francis Hare, Bishop of Chichester (1731-40) by his second wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of Joseph Alston of Edwardstone. The future bishop, as Chaplain-General to the Forces, had been present at the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies. On the return from Manders he married his first cousin Bethaia, sister to George Naylor. Visitors to that splendid castle of Hurstmonceaux are shown a "Lady's Bower" in which, according to tradition, "the last of the Naylers" was starved to death by her governor—a fate which Mr. Augustus S. C. Hare (*Memorials of a Quiet Life*, Vol. I, p. 74) attributes to a well intentioned but fatally indiscreet attempt to reduce the young lady's waist to a fashionable proportion. Hurstmonceaux in 1724 "passed from the last of the Naylors" to Bethaia, and there the Bishop lived, until the coming of age of his first wife's eldest son. That youth, also named Francis, was brought up "to speak Greek as his ordinary language in the family", but alas! he is reproved by his father for indulgence "in extravagance and dissipation of every description," and he is said to have been a member of Sir Francis Dashwood's "Hell Fire Club" at Medmenham. The Bishop appears to have been somewhat put out by his eldest son's ambition to become his brother-in-law, and this fact Francis, who changed his name from Hare to Nayler, in a sense accomplished by marrying Charlotte Alston, his step-mother's sister. This couple in 1775 forsook the castle in Sussex, and settled at Little Thurlow in the same county. The castle passed to Robert, the eldest son of the Bishop by his second wife and the brother of the Bengal Civil Servant. Robert was the namesake of Robert Walpole, who, as a christening present had presented to his godson the sinecure office worth £400 a year, of Sweeper of Gravesend—a post which Robert held till his death, when a Canon of Winchester Cathedral.

After the coming of age of his elder son and future brother-in-law, the Bishop betook himself to a house called the Vache, which pilgrims to a place beloved by Milton, will descry to the left of the road leading to the railway station of Chalfont St. Giles. The house is said to derive its name either from a dairy-farm of King John II or because it said to have once belonged to the De la Vache family. Times have indeed gone by once it was possible for a Bishop of Chichester, who incidentally was also the Dean of St. Paul's, to reside at a somewhat inaccessible spot in Buckinghamshire. In the Church there is a brass to the memory of Thomas Fleetwood, the "Lord of the Vache". The Vache was forfeited to the Crown at the Restoration, Colonel George Fleetwood having signed King Charles the First's death warrant. I do not know if the ill-fated Company's attorney, North Naylor, was a connection of the Naylor's of Hurstmonceaux. Mr. Augustus S. C. Hare's book, which I have mentioned, has much in it that is of Bengal interest, for it brings us into touch with Bishop Heber and his Chaplain, the Rev. Martin Strow, a fellow of New College, who died in the Bishop's arms at Dacca. In 1809 Heber had married Amelia, the youngest daughter of the very Rev. W. D. Shipley, Dean of St. Asaph, and grand-daughter of Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph. The Shipleys bring together the Hares, Heber, and Sir William Jones. Very touching are the references to Calcutta's second Bishop made by Maria Leycester who revisits the parish of whom Heber had been rector after his departure to India :

August 1, 1823. "This evening I have for the first time, ventured to go by Hodnet. It must be done, and it was better alone than with others. So having dined early, I took a long ride—one of our old rider which I have so often taken with him. There stood the poor deserted Rectory with its flowers and field—the green gate, which I have so seldom passed before unopened all looking the same as in the days of happiness, and now how changed from their former moments to solitude and silence."

IN Part II of Vol. II, 1908, will be found an article "Bishops Heber and Wilson" found on a letter by Captain Francis Greeley of the 14th Regt. Bengal Native Infantry, who came out for India on the same ship as Bishop Heber—H. C. S. Thomas Grenville. One of his ship-masters was "Mr. Conolly, Cavy. Cadet"—a nephew, I think, of the Bishop. Arthur Conolly was in 1840 sent from Cabul to Bokhara to negotiate the release of Colonel Stoddart. The story of his imprisonment and martyrdom is well known, but the following passage from Rowland Prothero's *The Psalms in Human Life* may be cited here :—

"For many months the two prisoners were kept in a filthy, unwholesome dungeon, swarming with vermin, without change of clothing. In June 1842 both were executed. Several years later, a

little book was purchased by a Russian in one of the bazaars at Bokhara. It was Conolly's Prayer Book. Along its margins, and on its blank leaves, are noted these chief occurrences of his long imprisonment. 'Thank God,' he wrote in one place, 'that this book was left to me. Stoddart and I did not fully know before our affliction what was in the Psalms, or how beautiful are the prayers of our Church.'

W. K. FIRMINER.

JOHAN BELLI, the private secretary to Warren Hastings, is a somewhat mysterious person. Buckland's "Dictionary of Indian Biography" tells us that the dates of his birth and death are not known; but that he was born in England of a noble Italian family, probably of Viterbo, his mother being a lady of Spanish origin named Bivar. It goes on to say that he entered the East India Company's service, but so far as we are able to ascertain this is not correct, as Belli was employed by Hastings in a purely private capacity. Charge XV. against Hastings at his impeachment was that he appointed his private secretary, John Belli Esquire, to be Agent for the supply of Stores and Provisions for the Garrison of Fort William, with a commission of 30 per cent. From the evidence recorded on this charge it appears that at the end of 1776 or beginning of 1777 Hastings stated that Belli had then been his secretary for the past four years at a salary of only Rs. 300 monthly. He was appointed Agent on 16 January 1777, and in February 1780 submitted accounts showing that he had made an admitted net profit of Rs. 1,02,000 since his appointment, though the Court had reduced his commission from 30% to 20%. In 1780 his Agency was converted into a five-year contract, at his own request. It will be noted that these dates of his residence in Bengal, viz., about 1772 till about 1786, vary from those given in the "D. I. B.", namely "about 1770-5".

HIS daughters made remarkable marriages. Belli's wife, their mother, was Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of John Cockerell of Bishop's Hall and his wife Frances, daughter of John Jackson of Clapham, Surrey. Jackson was the nephew of Pepys the diarist. Elizabeth Stuart Cockerell married firstly, at Calcutta, on 9th April 1779, Bryan Glover, a free merchant, who was buried at Calcutta on 18th March 1780. Belli, whom she married at Lucknow on 20th November 1781, was thus her second husband. Her brother was Charles Cockerell, the well-known banker, who was created a baronet in 1809. The title is still in existence, but the second baronet changed his name to Rushout. The

daughters of John and Elizabeth Belli married Archbishop Howley of Canterbury, E. Horsley Palmer, M.P., and Sir Codrington Edmund Carrington. Carrington was the first Chief Justice of Ceylon, having previously held the post of Advocate-General in Bengal. By his wife Paulina Belli (whom he married at All Saints Church, Northampton, on 3rd August 1801) he is stated to have had seventeen children ; and by his second wife he had five more. His second son, the Very Reverend Henry Carrington, died as recently as 1906. Paulina Belli's portrait by Lawrence is to be seen in the South Kensington Museum, together with one of her husband by the same painter.

ON the Great Granary in Fort William is a slab bearing the following inscription : "This building contains 51,268 maunds of rice and 20,423½ maunds of paddy, which were deposited by order of the Governor-General and Council under the inspection of John Belli, Agent for providing victualling stores to this garrison, in the months of March, April and May 1782", as we recorded in our second volume (1908, p. 389).

WE have only traced one son of Belli's, William Hallows Belli (1789—1875), who was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1807 till 1848. Amongst the posts which he held was the Collectorship of Burdwan. Later generations of the family would appear to have adopted the name of Belli-Bivar, which is still to be found in the Indian Army List. At Quetta is an epitaph commemorating Major C. E. Belli-Bivar of the 7th Bombay Lancers, son of Colonel C. S. Belli-Bivar of the 1st Madras Lancers. Major Belli-Bivar died in 1902 at the age of 40.

WE recently had occasion to comment in this Note Book on the longevity of some Bengal Army officers. Major Hodson informs us that so far as he is aware only one military officer of the Company's service became a centenarian. This was Captain Alexander Tweedale, who was born on 19 June, 1806 and died in London on 7 December, 1907. His career was unusual in that he served both in the Bombay and the Bengal Armies. Having received a Bengal cadetship in 1822, he rose to the rank of lieutenant in the 4th Extra Native Infantry, but resigned in England on 16 May, 1827. Meanwhile he had already been granted a Bombay cavalry cadetship in the previous year. He retired as a captain in the 1st Bombay Light Cavalry on 5 February, 1849.

His record of longevity was however easily beaten by a Company's medical officer, Surgeon-Major Henry Benjamin Hinton of the Bengal Medical Establishment, who was born on 7 March, 1813 and died at Adelaide on 14 May, 1916, at the age of 103. As he had retired in 1868, he enjoyed a pension for nearly fifty years, after serving in four campaigns. Another surgeon-centenarian was John Brown of the Bengal Medical Establishment, who died at Hove at the age of 100 in March, 1899.

MAJOR HODSON also informs us that he believes that only three Bengal Army officers who entered the service before 1834 became Field Marshals, namely Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Patrick Grant, and Sir George Pollock. In later years, and up to the present day, there has of course been a number of Field Marshals drawn from officers of the Indian services, some of whom, such as Lord Roberts and Sir Donald Martin Stewart, were in the first place Company's officers. Thus Sir D. M. Stewart joined the 9th Bengal N. I. in 1840 and Frederick Roberts was gazetted to the Bengal Artillery in December, 1851. But so far as we are aware no complete list of Indian service Field Marshals has ever been published.

IN our April-June, 1937 notes, we foreshadowed the publication of an important biography of Marian Hastings. We are now able to announce that, under the title of "Beloved Marian", it is to be published by Messrs Jarrolds early in 1938. The author is Mrs. K. L. Elliott, well-known as the writer of the *Statesman's* weekly London letter over the initials K. L. M. Portraits of Charlotte Lady Imhoff, daughter of the "Baronet of Fultah" Sir Charles Blunt, and of Sir Charles Imhoff, are to be reproduced from the originals in the possession of Miss Blunt. We believe that previously the only published portrait of Sir Charles Imhoff was that representing him as an infant with his mother.

CAPTAIN John Buchanan, the first husband of the first Mrs. Warren Hastings, still remains a somewhat mysterious person, and the date and place of his marriage have never been ascertained. The facts regarding him were summarised by Lieut-Col. H. Bullock in a letter in the "Times Literary Supplement" dated 27 June, 1936, in the hope that if his movements and military career could be established, prior to his arrival in India in 1753,

the entry of his marriage might be traced in some parish register. In a recently-published book, "The East India Company's Arsenal and Manufactories", by Brigadier-General H. A. Young (Oxford University Press, 1937) it is stated that Buchanan was in 1746 an ensign in St. Clair's Regiment (now The Royal Scots), and in 1747 a lieutenant in the same corps—facts which Lieut.-Col. Bullock had not been able to ascertain. General Young gives an interesting account of Buchanan's operations, as executor of Lieut.-Col. Caroline Frederick Scott, as manager of the powder mills at Perrin's Garden, "on the river bank at the north end of the settlement, with the Mahratta ditch just beyond it". The Company bought these mills just before the siege of 1756, and Buchanan's powder was considered to be of superior quality.

UNDER the auspices of the Academy of Fine Arts, the fifth annual exhibition of painting and sculpture was held at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, from 10th to 28th December, 1937. The section comprising the Loan Collection included, besides 160 paintings lent by the Italian Government, William Daniell's painting of "The Waterfalls of Cauvery in the Tinnevely District", the property of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore, K.C.I.E.

THE "ORIENT WEEKLY" in its issue of 5th December, 1937 has an article entitled "The First Voyage of an Indian Begum", describing the journey of Malka Kishwar, Queen Mother of Oudh, to England in 1856. The author is, we believe, a member of the family. Leaving Lucknow in March, 1856, she travelled by the steamship *General Macleod* from Benares to Raniganj and thence by a special train which took eight hours to reach Belgachia. Southampton was reached in August, where the Queen took the whole of White's Royal York Hotel at twelve guineas a day, and held a levee soon after her arrival. Malka Kishwar died in Paris on 23rd January, 1858, on her way back to India, and was buried four days later in the Muslim cemetery there.

HAS any list of peers and peeresses who have died in India ever been compiled? We have come across some notes on the subject, made some years ago, which might serve as the basis of such a list. The first in point of time was Henry Bard, Lord Bellamont, the true circumstances of whose

Peers who died in India.

death were cleared up for the first time by the late Mr. William Irvine in his edition of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* in the Indian Records Series: they had eluded previously such experts as G. E. Cokayne in "The Complete Peerage". Viceroys and Governors and their wives account for several other names: Cornwallis, Lord and Lady Hobart, the Earl of Mayo, Lady Canning, Lord Pigot and the Earl of Elgin. But Lady Basing (buried at Naini Tal), the tenth Baron Hastings (who died of fever contracted whilst tiger-shooting with the Prince of Wales at Tanjore in 1875), and Lord Ossulston (who died in camp at Dhamtaur—not Dhamton, as De Rhe-Philippe has it—near Abbottabad in 1879, are not well known. The last was a courtesy title only. Finally we should include two or three Lords Gardner who must lie buried in the Etah District or thereabouts, without having established their successive claims to that dormant peerage. A claimant to another peerage, the self-styled 8th Earl of Milltown, died at Jubbulpore on 25th January, 1905. He was a Mr. John Leeson, born in 1827, son of Major Joseph Leeson of the 42nd Bengal N. I. who was grandson of the 3rd Earl.

ONLY one Commander-in-Chief who was a peer seems to have died in India, Lord Rawlinson of Trent, who died in the Hindu Rao Hospital at Delhi in 1924; but a number of others, not peers, died in this country. General Sir William Lockhart died in Calcutta in 1900 and is commemorated by a striking obelisk at Rawalpindi, which forms a landmark on the Grand Trunk Road. Sir Eyre Coote died at Madras in 1783, but his remains were disinterred and reburied in the picturesque little church of Rockbourne, near Fordingbridge, Coote's seat, West Park, which he bought with his prize money, is a mile or two away. Anson, whose first grave was also in India, at Karnal, was also reburied in England.

THE names of many European military adventurers are recorded in the late Mr. J. J. Cotton's List of Tombs and Monuments in Madras (of which, we are very glad to learn, a new edition is in active preparation); but we glean yet another name from an entry in the "Madras Almanac", 1834. This is a notice of the marriage, at Anjengo, on 10 February, 1833, of Emmanuel A. Rodrigues, Esq., to Maria Theresa Hoogewerff, eldest daughter of Captain B. P. Hoogewerff, the late commanding officer of the Travancore State Forces. 1833 would seem a late date for a European marriage at Anjengo: the place was fast going into decay a generation before.

AT Hasan Abdal, on the Grand Trunk Road between Rawalpindi and Attock, is a small walled Mogul garden, containing the tomb of a Lala Rukh, and now under the care of the Archaeological Department. Within the enclosure is also a Christian tomb, which was duly noticed in Sir Miles Irving's list of Tombs and Monuments in the Punjab. Sir Miles was however unable to establish the identity of the person who was buried there. When visiting the spot last year we were given a different version of the story by the caretaker of the garden. According to him, it is the grave of a General Palmer, who died at the camping-ground near by on his way to or from the "Kabul War". The style of the tomb precludes its dating from the Second Afghan War; but the only officer named Palmer who died in the First Afghan War was Brevet Captain Nicholas Power Palmer of the 54th Bengal N. I., and he was killed near Kabul on 13 January, 1842, during the retreat. It is hardly possible that the grave at Hasan Abdal can be his, and moreover, had it been his, his son, General Sir Arthur Power Palmer, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India from 1900 to 1902, would surely have seen that an inscription was put upon it. The problem thus remains unsolved.

WHY should an English country gentleman, with so far as is known no connexions with the East, give his son the name of Aurengzebe? For John Hatfeild of Laughton (1676-1751) left an only surviving son and heir, Aurengzebe Hatfeild (1710-1752), who in his turn gave his eldest son the same cognomen. Is it possible that he was a friend or admirer of Dryden, whose rhymed tragedy "Aurengzebe" was produced in 1675? We can think of no other rational explanation.

WHEN Horace Walpole visited Hanworth Park, in Middlesex, the seat of the Vere Beauclerks, in 1748, he saw a portrait which his hostess, Lady Vere of Hanworth, said; "It was her grandmother's picture, a Portuguese, that her grandfather had married at Fort St. George—a very bad likeness". Walpole goes on to make some very derogatory remarks (which may be read in Mrs. Paget Toynbee's edition of Walpole's letters, vol. II, pp. 323-7) regarding the appearance of the subject of the portrait; but we are more concerned with her identity. Lady Vere was the daughter and co-heir of Thomas Chambers of Hanworth, who appears to have been the son of Sir Thomas Chambers or Chamber, Governor of Fort St. George from 1659 to 1661. He was of Bromley, Middlesex, and was knighted in 1666, according to Shaw's "Knights of England". His wife, we find from Love's "Vestiges

of Old Madras", was the widow of Captain Bowyer; and this must have been the Portuguese lady. Professor H. H. Dodwell, in his *Nabobs of Madras*, has something to say of the old Portuguese families which formerly flourished at Fort St. George, and mentions the Hanworth picture incidentally.

THAT Benoit de Boigne, generalissimo of Scindia's armies, had previously held a commission in the Madras Army is fairly well known; but that two other military adventurers, of René Madec's *parti*, were in the same service seem to have escaped notice. One was Joseph Jean B. (? Baptiste) Aumont, who in 1768 was a captain of cavalry on the Madras establishment, and serving with the Corps of Foreigners. The second was Paul Rozet, who was an ensign of infantry at about the same period. The names of these two soldiers of fortune frequently occur in *Le Nabab René Madec*, by Émile Barbé. Aumont's name occurs in a pay-list of Madec's party in 1775, as does Rozet's too. The former had previously been in Shuja-ud-daula's service and when the Nawab died, on 26 January 1775, his son Mirza Moni was compelled by the English to dismiss all his foreign soldiers. Amongst the thirteen who then made their way across country to Bari, west of Dholpur, and joined Madec was Aumont. Barbé also prints the following interesting document, which we translate:

"I the undersigned Louis Laurent de Modave, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, *Mestre de Camp* of Cavalry, formerly Governor for the King, and Commander-in-Chief, of the French Settlements in the island of Madagascar, declare and certify to all whom it may concern: That towards the end of the year 1774, during the whole course of the following year, and part of the present year 1776, I was at Barri, a province of the Kingdom of Agra, with M. Madec, to whom the Emperor had given the revenue of this province for the upkeep of the troops which the aforesaid M. Madec had raised for the service of His Imperial Majesty: That gratified by the welcome which I received from the said M. Madec and the part which he took in my concerns, I passed nearly a year either in his camp or in accompanying him on his various travels to places where the state of public affairs required him to be: That I was struck with the respect and trust which he enjoyed in that Empire, having myself had pleasant evidence of it on several occasions.

That I was no less surprised at the good order and precise discipline which he had established in his Army: That several Frenchmen had collected beneath his standard: That one of them, the Sieur Vincent by name, carried out the duties of *Commissaire* of the said camp, keeping the roll of the said Frenchmen and other Europeans, paying their salaries as they fell due, making out the death certificates of those who died, preparing the inventories and arranging the sale by auction of the property of their estates, and keeping all this party and the civil police in as good legal order as could have been the

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WHEN Horace Walpole visited Hanworth Park, in Middlesex, the seat of the Vere Beauclerks, in 1748, he saw a portrait which his hostess, Lady Vere of Hanworth, said; "It was her grandmother's picture, a Portuguese, that her grandfather had married at Fort St. George—a very bad likeness". Walpole goes on to make some very derogatory remarks (which may be read in Mrs. Paget Toynbee's edition of Walpole's letters, vol. II, pp. 323-7) regarding the appearance of the subject of the portrait; but we are more concerned with her identity. Lady Vere was the daughter and co-heir of Thomas Chambers of Hanworth, who appears to have been the son of Sir Thomas Chambers or Chamber, Governor of Fort St. George from 1659 to 1661. He was of Bromley, Middlesex, and was knighted in 1666, according to Shaw's "Knights of England". His wife, we find from Love's "Vestiges

of Old Madras'', was the widow of Captain Bowyer; and this must have been the Portuguese lady. Professor H. H. Dodwell, in his *Nabobs of Madras*, has something to say of the old Portuguese families which formerly flourished at Fort St. George, and mentions the Hanworth picture incidentally.

THAT Benoit de Boigne, generalissimo of Scindia's armies, had previously held a commission in the Madras Army is fairly well known; but that two other military adventurers, of René Madec's *parti*, were in the same service seem to have escaped notice. The Corps of Foreigners. One was Joseph Jean B. (? Baptiste) Aumont, who in 1768 was a captain of cavalry on the Madras establishment, and serving with the Corps of Foreigners. The second was Paul Rozet, who was an ensign of infantry at about the same period. The names of these two soldiers of fortune frequently occur in *Le Nabab René Madec*, by Emile Barbé. Aumont's name occurs in a pay-list of Madec's party in 1775, as does Rozet's too. The former had previously been in Shuja-ud-daula's service and when the Nawab died, on 26 January 1775, his son Mirza Moni was compelled by the English to dismiss all his foreign soldiers. Amongst the thirteen who then made their way across country to Bari, west of Dholpur, and joined Madec was Aumont. Barbé also prints the following interesting document, which we translate:

"I the undersigned Louis Laurent de Modave, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, *Mestre de Camp* of Cavalry, formerly Governor for the King, and Commander-in-Chief, of the French Settlements in the island of Madagascar, declare and certify to all whom it may concern: That towards the end of the year 1774, during the whole course of the following year, and part of the present year 1776, I was at Barri, a province of the Kingdom of Agra, with M. Madec, to whom the Emperor had given the revenue of this province for the upkeep of the troops which the aforesaid M. Madec had raised for the service of His Imperial Majesty: That gratified by the welcome which I received from the said M. Madec and the part which he took in my concerns, I passed nearly a year either in his camp or in accompanying him on his various travels to places where the state of public affairs required him to be: That I was struck with the respect and trust which he enjoyed in that Empire, having myself had pleasant evidence of it on several occasions.

That I was no less surprised at the good order and precise discipline which he had established in his Army: That several Frenchmen had collected beneath his standard: That one of them, the Sieur Vincent by name, carried out the duties of *Commissaire* of the said camp, keeping the roll of the said Frenchmen and other Europeans, paying their salaries as they fell due, making out the death certificates of those who died, preparing the inventories and arranging the sale by auction of the property of their estates, and keeping all this party and the civil police in as good legal order as could have been the

case in one of our Colonies. I can say this with the more confidence as I myself saw several of these documents which the Sieur Vincent had prepared.

I further declare that on the 29 July, 1775 M. Madec was attacked by a large body of Pathans and his whole army was completely defeated and routed. The Sieur Vincent and several other Frenchmen were left dead on the battlefield. All the contents of the camp without exception fell into the enemy's hands, who thus obtained possession of the Sieur Vincent's papers, of which it proved impossible to recover any portion whatsoever.

I declare and certify these facts, of which I have a true and full knowledge, in order to pay respect to the truth, being entirely sensible that no one had a right to trouble M. Madec under the pretext of claiming his inheritances afresh, for he has fully discharged his duty in this respect by having entrusted this important part of the civil administration to a member of his Army. That member having perished, and the properties having been stolen as a consequence of a defeat, all the deeds and property have necessarily disappeared ; for there is no public Depository in this country, and the custom is for everything to be taken into the field with the armies.

The purpose therefore of the present declaration is to state the true position as above. As the matter is one of common notoriety here, I do not anticipate that any of the officers or other Europeans who are employed with M. Madec's troops will hesitate to append their signatures to this declaration in token of its correctness.—Made at Agra, 25 April, 1776.

(Signed) MODAVE.

We, officers and other employed in M. Madec's Party, having heard the above declaration read, and finding that in every respect it conforms most strictly to the truth, certify every clause thereof and sign it unanimously in token of its correctness, at Bari, 27 April 1776 :—(Signed) CRESSI, CRISCOLL, AUMONT, ROZET, VISAGE, CLEMANSIN, AUTIER, PILLET, CALVE, PEDRON, J. AUBERT."
